

THE
S L A V E S T A T E S
OF
A M E R I C A.

BY
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"AMERICA, HISTORICAL, STATISTIC, AND DESCRIPTIVE."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE ALBERT.

LONDON, March, 1842.

SIR,

As Your Royal Highness has had the kindness to assure me, that it would afford you great pleasure to continue your distinguished patronage to my present Work, on the Slave States of America ; and still further, to express a generous hope, that my labours, in this instance, may be crowned with the same success which attended my former Work on the Free States of that country;—I avail myself of this privilege, to lay before Your Royal Highness a faithful Narrative of my Journey through that portion of the North American Republic, in which the Institution of Slavery still exists, and to which, its supporters and defenders still cling, with a tenacity as much to be deplored as it is to be wondered at.

I believe that one of the first public occasions on which Your Royal Highness honoured with Your presence, any great assemblage of the People of England, was on presiding at the meeting held in London, during my absence in America, for the purpose of considering the best means of abolishing Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World. I well remember the deep impression which the news of that event created on the other side of the Atlantic—when the illustrious Consort of the Queen of England, under whose benign auspices, Slavery had been abolished in her own dominions, was seen coming forward and pledging himself to the World, as the Friend of the unhappy Slave, in whatever region his lot might be cast—by placing himself at the head of a Society for promoting his Freedom, composed of statesmen of all parties, and individuals of all sects and persuasions—with Her Majesty as its Patroness, and Your Royal Highness as its President. It was believed by many, that the moral influence of England, thus represented and embodied, would do more to advance the cause of Emancipation in America, than any agency that had yet been put into operation. Those, therefore, who desired this consummation—and they comprehend the most numerous, intelligent, and virtuous portion of the community in the

Northern States of America—regarded this event as a new star of hope that had arisen on the horizon ; while those who would retard this consummation, beheld it as an evil omen, with corresponding dread or fear.

To strengthen Your Royal Highness in your high and generous resolves, and to encourage that large portion of the people of England, by whom this noble effort to “strike off the chains of the captive, and bid the oppressed go free,” is cordially supported and sustained—these Volumes may be referred to, as containing abundant proofs of the evils, which it is the object of the Society over which Your Royal Highness presides, to root out : as well as of the benefits which could not fail to result from the substitution of vigorous and productive Free-labour, instead of the inefficient, because ill-requited, toil of unwilling Slaves, over the magnificent regions through which these Travels extend.

As my former Work has had the honour to be appealed to, as an authority, on the subject of Free-trade, by the two great leaders of the House of Commons, Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel, in their speeches on the Corn Laws ; I may venture to hope, that these Statesmen, and their respective followers, will find in my present Work more important evidence still, when questions involving the Right

TO H. R. H. THE PRINCE ALBERT.

of Search—and the impolicy of supporting indirectly the Institution of Slavery, by favouring the easy admission of its produce, while the fruits of its golden harvests, sown and reaped by Free-labour, alone, are virtually excluded—come, as sooner or later they must, to be discussed in the British Parliament.

With every wish that health, happiness, and the highest renown that good deeds can win, may continue to crown a life so auspiciously begun, and that this life may long be preserved, for the benefit of Your country and mankind, is the sincere wish of

Your Royal Highness's much obliged,

And devoted servant,

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

4, *Camden Terrace, West,*
Camden New Town.

P R E F A C E.

WHEN my recent work on the Free States of America was given to the world, I was neither so inexperienced nor so unreasonable as to expect it would meet with that *universal* commendation, which authors, like other men, may honourably desire, but which, amidst the variety of minds, and variety of motives, swaying the pens of critics, few indeed have the good fortune to obtain.

I must admit, however, that considering the indiscriminate praise bestowed on American institutions and manners by some, and the equally indiscriminate censure lavished on everything American by others, I did apprehend more difficulty in rendering a strictly impartial book—which should award both praise and blame in such proportions as facts should warrant, and in such proportions only—acceptable to so large a class of readers, as the extensive sale of the work itself seems to imply. I have, therefore, been agreeably surprised to find my fears on this head groundless; and one of the rare occurrences of life has thus, in this instance, been my portion; namely, that my most sanguine expectations have been outstripped by reality. Some few objections, made as they have been, in no unfriendly spirit, deserve, however, a brief notice. One objection is this: that too much space has been devoted to historical, geographical, and statistic information,

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and too little to that of manners. I regard this, however, as one of the principal merits of the book. Mrs. Trollope, Captain Hamilton, Captain Basil Hall, Mr. Stuart, Mr. Power, Miss Fanny Kemble, Miss Martineau, Captain Marryatt, and the two most recent and most interesting of them all, the Honourable Mr. Murray, and Mr. George Combe, had each, according to their several views, given much more of their space and attention to American manners than to the history, topography, productions, and statistics of the country ; and I considered it, therefore, as much a duty, as I felt it to be a pleasure, to supply this deficiency ; so that even those who had read all the writers named, might find much that was new in my own pages ; and this I believe is now generally conceded to be the case.

Another objection is this : that instead of always stating facts and giving abstracts of opinions in my own language, I have repeated the exact words of American editors and American authors. This, also, I felt it my duty to do, for two reasons ; one of which was, to prevent all complaint on the part of American readers, by letting them see the original authorities for the statements made ; and the other was, to obtain the confidence of English readers in my strict impartiality, by showing them, that I was desirous of giving the Americans, in these extracts, the privilege of speaking for themselves. In this, therefore, I believe I have done perfectly right ; as I wished not merely to pass a judgment, but by showing the original grounds on which such judgment was formed, to obtain the assent of all parties to its fairness and equity.

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Lastly, a few have expressed their objection to any allusion to my own professional labours in the country, either in the delivery of my lectures on the countries of the Eastern World, or in the advocacy of my peculiar views, in favour of Education, Temperance, Institutions of Benevolence, and Peace. To such, I have only to reply, that it would be an act of injustice to the American people, not to state the cordial reception which they uniformly gave to a foreigner and a stranger, coming among them for what they deemed a laudable and honourable purpose; and that I should have reproached myself with the deepest ingratitude, if I had not publicly recorded their liberality and hospitality in this respect. This is, indeed, one of the features of the national manners, too important to be overlooked; namely, their eagerness after useful information, the liberality with which they honour and reward those who gratify their taste in this, and the cordiality with which they receive and co-operate with any one willing to labour with them in the formation of benevolent and philanthropic undertakings. And as this is one of the most *favourable* traits of the national character, it would be unpardonable to omit it in a work fearlessly noticing their *defects*. This would be an injustice which I should be ashamed to commit.

In the same spirit of impartiality, I have endeavoured to describe the state of Slavery in the Southern States, of which these volumes will contain a full account. I shall perhaps be blamed by some English readers for the admissions which I make, if not in favour, at least in palliation, of the conduct of many slaveholders in America, as well as in the

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confessions which truth demands, of the well-being, and even comfort, of some of the domestic slaves. On the other hand, I expect my full share of censure from a large section, at least, of the people of America, for daring to speak, as truth compels me to do, of the wretched condition of the great body of the African race throughout the South; and of the reckless indifference to human life, and human obligations of every kind, which the very system of Slavery engenders in nearly all the white population who live beneath its influence. To the censures of both these parties I shall be willing to submit, and console myself with the belief that I have served the cause of truth and justice, better than by attempting to please either.

To the conductors of the public press generally, provincial as well as metropolitan, I have to return my best acknowledgments, for the highly favourable opinions they have been pleased to express of my former labours; and I venture to indulge the hope, that the present volumes will commend themselves to their attention as fully as those which have gone before.

The critic in the *QUARTERLY REVIEW* forms the only exception of importance, that I have met with, to the general fairness and courtesy of the class to which I am indebted for so much favour. But there are circumstances which sufficiently explain the bitterness of the proprietors and conductors of that publication, to everything proceeding from my pen; and the interests of justice to literary men and literature, demand that these circumstances should be revealed.

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Not to press these upon the reader's attention here, however, I have consigned them to a fitter place—in the Appendix of the last volume, where they may be seen by all who are desirous of unraveling the craft and mystery of reviewing.

The only change that it has been thought advisable to make in the embellishments of the work, has been to substitute a smaller number of large steel engravings, for the greater number of wood-cuts; and as this has been effected at an increase of expense to the publishers, it is hoped that it will be deemed an improvement.

It has been my earnest desire, by all the means within my power, to remove and destroy those international prejudices, everywhere too strong, but especially so between the ill-informed and illiberal of the English and American population towards each other, respectively; and to substitute, in their stead, feelings of kindness, respect, and mutual and reciprocal good-will; believing, as I do, that the existence of a cordial and friendly understanding, a lasting peace, and a free commercial intercourse between Great Britain and the United States of America, will be of the greatest advantage to themselves and to the best interests of mankind; and that any interruption to this would be a great public calamity, which the wise and the good of both nations would deplore; and which every good citizen of each ought, therefore, to do his utmost to avert.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

CAMDEN-TOWN, LONDON,
March, 1842.

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THE SLAVE STATES OF AMERICA.

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Embarkation at New York for Charleston—Delightful weather—Drunken crew—System pursued with respect to seamen—Beautiful prospect of the harbour and city of New York—Description of the voyage to Charleston—Penance of association with disagreeable passengers—Thunder, lightning, and rains off Cape Hatteras—Arrival at Charleston—Landing.

ON Friday, the 11th of January, 1839, we embarked at New York, on board the packet-ship, Calhoun, for Charleston in South Carolina. The distance of this city from New York by land exceeds 700 miles ; and as the bad state of the roads through the latter part of the route makes land-travelling disagreeable during the winter months, we were induced to prefer the sea voyage, though this also has its inconveniences at this season of the year. The ship in which we had taken our passage was 275 tons burthen, and had her cabins and dining-room under a poop-deck ; two

of these cabins, with double berths in each, and separate accommodation for a man-servant, were assigned to us for 90 dollars passage-money.

The day was remarkably fine ; the wind being light from the southward, the sun warm, the sky bright, and the general appearance like that of one of the finest days of September or October in England. It was, indeed, so warm, that the captain and pilot went without their jackets ; and the shade was more agreeable to us all than the sun. We had no thermometer open, but I should conceive the heat to have been 75° at least, which was a powerful contrast to the state of the atmosphere a few days before, when the thermometer was at 6° only above zero. The pilot, indeed, said, that though he had followed his profession for more than twenty years in New York, he had never remembered so hot a day as this in January.

We hauled off from the wharf about eleven o'clock, and were towed down by a steam-vessel as far as the Narrows, (the usual charge for the hire of such steam-vessels being ten dollars an hour,) where we began to make sail. This was, however, a work of some difficulty, as the crew were all intoxicated ; some, indeed, were so drunk as to be wholly unfit for duty, and all were in a state of confusion and insubordination. The captain was obliged to assume a rigorous exercise of authority, to prevent a mutiny ; and the greater part of the actual labour devolved upon his mates and himself. I learnt from the pilot that for years past it had been a rare case for a ship to sail from the harbour of New York, without the greater number of the crew being drunk ; and he thought that this evil had increased rather than diminished of late.

The system of shipping seamen here is like that of nearly all the seaports of England and America. A set of worthless and abandoned men, who keep boarding-houses and grog-shops combined, lie in wait about the wharfs and docks for the sailors as they arrive in port; when, by various arts and insinuations, they prevail upon them to bring their chests and hammocks to their houses, where, in a very short time after landing, they are plied with liquor till they become insensible of all that is passing around them. They are then put to bed, and most probably robbed of all their hard-earned wages, the reward of a toilsome and perilous voyage: or, if not directly robbed of it by the landlord, it is soon dissipated in cards, women, and drink, the largest portion of it finding its way into the landlord's pocket. Thus destitute, they are kept by these harpies until some ship requires hands: and then, with a bill of several dollars run up against each, for maintenance and supplies, at a most extravagant rate, they are handed over, in a state of intoxication, to the ship requiring them. The advance of wages which ought to be appropriated to the purchase of clothes and other necessaries for the seaman's voyage, is then taken by the landlord for the payment of his demands, while the plundered victim of his villany and avarice goes to sea perfectly unprovided for; often, indeed, without a second shirt or jacket to shift in wet weather, and wholly without the ordinary necessaries of a seaman's life.

This is the condition of not less than 100,000 seamen in Britain and America at the present time; and yet, whenever a proposition is made in either country, to sweep this abomination from off the earth,

by prohibiting all traffic in, or sale of, ardent spirits, it is resisted, as an infringement of the liberties of the subject! as if the curse of intoxication were not the greatest of all infringements on human liberty, drowning all sense, reason, and consciousness, making men slaves to those who thus decoy and entrap them, and rapidly destroying both body and soul. Without the agency of this poisonous drink, the landlords would be utterly unable to effect their nefarious purposes, as the sober sailor cannot be thus plundered and despoiled; but with the powerful aid of ardent spirits, the harpy easily effects all he desires. The only cure, therefore, for this evil, is to banish these spirits from traffic, sale, or use, as we would burn unwholesome meat, hunt down the destroying tiger, extinguish a fire, or shut out a pestilence from our cities. All these we do without scruple; but intoxicating drinks, which destroy more than all the wolves, tigers, fires, and plagues of the world combined, we suffer to flow on, unopposed and unrestrained, as though they poured blessings, rather than curses, on the land!

As we beat out through the Narrows, with a fine breeze that had just sprung up from the south-west, the harbour and city of New York appeared to us quite as beautiful as when we first entered it, upwards of a year ago, from sea. The forest of ships' masts, and the number of flags and signals waving from them, as they fringed the shores of the city, which we were fast leaving behind us, on the Hudson and the East River sides, with the Battery and Castle Gardens in the centre: the forts on Governor's Island and Bedlow's Island, the heights of Brooklyn,

the town of Brighton, and the beautiful villas on Staten Island, all appeared, in the brightest sunshine, and beneath a cloudless and deep-blue sky, more beautiful than I could have thought possible at this wintry season of the year; and we enjoyed the prospect exceedingly.

The passage out through the Narrows, from the Bay of New York to the sea, is among the finest pictures of marine scenery that can be imagined. The hills on both sides are thickly studded with mansions, villas, hotels, and other buildings, many of them with porticos and pediments like Grecian temples; and these being of the purest white, they look like Parian marble from the sea: while the blue waters of the Atlantic, seen through the opening of the Narrows in the distance, affords a pleasing contrast, and makes up a picture of great beauty.

When the hour of dinner came, however, we began to repent our embarkation. The passengers who assembled at the table with us, to the number of ten, were among the most vulgar, dirty, ill-bred, and uncultivated persons that it had ever been our lot to mingle with; and the prospect of sitting down three times a day to the same table with such a party, was a very unpromising one. We had not been wanting in our inquiries on this head; but as passengers in these short voyages rarely make application for berths before the day of the ship's sailing, we were unable to ascertain who were to be our companions, until it was too late for us to avoid them.

Our voyage to Charleston occupied nearly seven days, as we did not arrive there till late on the night of the 17th, though the passage is often effected in three days; and taking it altogether, it was one of the

most disagreeable passages I ever remember to have experienced. The ship was unobjectionable, as she sailed well, was an excellent sea-boat, and performed all her evolutions with ease and safety. The captain, however, though a good seaman, and very vigilant and attentive to the navigation of the ship, appeared to feel no more concern for the comfort of his passengers, than if they had been so many head of cattle that he was transporting from one port to another. He never once sat at table with us, having his meals either sent on deck, or taken to him in the steward's pantry : and he never once took off his clothes, or went to bed, during the whole passage, lying on the hen-coops on the poop, or on a bench in the cabin. The mate was just as rough and unpolished a being as the captain, and quite as careless about the cleanliness of his person and apparel. The passengers had not one redeeming quality that we could discover, but were uniformly low, vulgar, ignorant, and dissipated men. Their constant occupation, from immediately after breakfast till near midnight, with the intervention of meals only, was playing at cards and dominos on the cabin table, or smoking cigars on the deck. The wind being foul for the greater part of the way, and the cold and damp atmosphere rendering the deck unattractive, these men remained in the cabin all day, sitting around the stove. This so completely destroyed all privacy, that we were never alone but when in bed, and even then we were perpetually disturbed by their gambling and vociferation ; so that our only refuge, and that a most imperfect one, was to shut ourselves within our sleeping-berths, and read through the tedious and weary day, which seemed twice its ordinary length.

On passing round Cape Hatteras, which lies about midway on the coast between New York and Charleston, we experienced the usual weather commonly found off that projection, in thunder, lightning, and heavy rains. We had heard no such rains, indeed, since we were in Bengal, when the heavy setting in or breaking up of the monsoon deluges the earth; and these were to the full as violent. We approached the shoal off Cape Hatteras as near as seven fathoms, and had a most turbulent swell and long-ranging sea, with a mist arising from the water (its temperature being 64° while that of the atmosphere was only 42°) which was driven across its surface like steam from a boiling cauldron, and made it often difficult to see the water itself more than a few feet from the ship, though the air above was perfectly free from fog.

On the 6th day at noon we hauled in for Charleston, and soon obtained a pilot; but as the state of the tide was unfavourable for our crossing the bar, we had to wait on the outside, lying to, under easy sail, until four, P.M., when we stood in for the entrance, with a light wind from the north-east.

The greatest depth over the bar at spring-tides is 16 feet at high-water, and 10 feet at low. As our vessel drew 12 feet, we were enabled to pass over it at half-flood; but two larger vessels, the *Isabella* of Greenock, and the *Jesse Logan* of Liverpool, were obliged to anchor in the offing all night, for want of sufficient water during daylight to take them in.

The entrance to Charleston has nothing of the grandeur that characterizes the bay and harbour of New York, though the appearance of the city is inte-

resting. The bar is difficult, from the channel over it being so narrow; the passage is well buoyed, however, on both sides; and, with the light-house and several landmarks near it, the navigation is easy and safe. The shores all around the entrance are low and sandy, with wood and cotton plantations, and are entirely destitute of picturesque beauty.

It was eight o'clock before we reached the anchorage, though we passed over the bar at five, and the distance is not more than ten miles; but the wind was so light as scarcely to give steerage-way to the ship; and we were carried up to our berth almost entirely by the flood-tide. We accordingly anchored close to the wharf, and going on shore took up our abode for the night at the Planters' Hotel, which has the reputation of being the first in the city.

We found ourselves so ill accommodated here, however, that we sought out on the following morning for more agreeable quarters, and finding these at the Carolina Hotel, kept by Mr. Stuart, a Scotsman, in Broad Street, we removed there without delay.

It was on Thursday night that we arrived in Charleston, and I devoted the two following days to the delivery of the numerous letters of introduction with which I had been furnished by friends at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, to resident families at this place. By all parties I was received with a great degree of cordiality and kindness, and nearly all of them took the earliest opportunity to wait on us at the hotel.

We remained at Charleston for three weeks; and during that period I enjoyed frequent opportunities of friendly intercourse with many of its most dis-

tinguished and intelligent inhabitants, and obtained access through them to everything I wished to see, and to all the information I desired to obtain. My lectures on Egypt and Palestine, which were first given in the Hall of the Medical College, and then in the First Presbyterian Church, were attended with audiences exceeding a thousand in number, and our stay was rendered as agreeable and instructive as possible. Before entering, however, upon a description of Charleston, it may be well to give a brief sketch of the past history and present condition of South Carolina as a State.

CHAP. II.

First visit of Europeans to Florida—Singular search of the Spaniard, Ponce de Leon—Explored by Verazzana the Italian—Arrival of French Refugees—Barbarous conflicts—Settlement of Sir Walter Raleigh—Grant of Carolina to Charles the Second—John Locke's Code, or Fundamental Constitution—Religious freedom—Negro slavery—Agrarian laws—Foundation of Charleston—European settlers—Indian war—Buccaneers—Introduction of rice—First Quaker governor—Christian missionaries—General state of the colony in 1700—British encouragement of the slave-trade—Character and death of the pirate chief, Blackbeard—Carolina proclaimed a colony of the crown—Visit of several Cherokee chiefs to England—Addition of Swiss settlers—Blacks and whites—French fanatics—Scottish rebels—Discovery and cultivation of indigo—Alarm of the planters from their own slaves—Defence of Charleston in the revolutionary war—Contest of the Carolinas with Congress.

THE early history of the territory now occupied by the States of North and South Carolina, is not so accurately recorded, or so fully detailed, as the histories of the more Northern States, but sufficient is known of it, to form a narrative of some interest. It appears that so early as the year 1512, the Spaniards set up their claim to nearly all the territory south of Virginia; contending that Sebastian Cabot, the Venetian navigator in the service of the English, had never advanced farther south than the Capes of the Chesapeake; whereas, in that year, 1512, a Spanish officer, named Ponce de Leon, then governor of Porto Rico, landed on its shores. The object

of his voyage was indeed a curious one, as it is described by the Spanish historians, to have been undertaken in quest of a land, which was reported to contain a brook, or fountain, endued with the miraculous power of restoring age and decrepitude to the bloom and vigour of youth. Believing that he had now attained the favoured region, he hastened to take possession, in his sovereign's name, of so rare and valuable an acquisition. He bestowed on it the name of Florida, (a name now confined to the southern portion of the whole coast,) either on account of the vernal beauty that adorned its surface, or because he discovered it on the Sunday before Easter, which the Spaniards call "Pasque de Flores;" but though he chilled his aged frame by bathing in every stream that he could find, he had the mortification of returning an older instead of a younger man to Porto Rico. No settlement was, therefore, effected in the country by this expedition.

In 1523, the whole coast was explored by an Italian navigator, Verazzana, in the service of the French. At a subsequent period, about 1560, it was determined to appropriate a part of this territory as a place of refuge for the retreat of the French Protestants, who were as much aggrieved by the persecution of the Catholics in France, as the Puritans had been by the Protestants in England; and America was destined to furnish an asylum to both.

It was in 1562 that the first two vessels containing the Protestant refugees were despatched from France; and these arriving at the mouth of the Albemarle River, or Sound, landed there, when, in honour of their sovereign, Charles the Ninth, they called the

country Carolina. In 1564, these were followed by three other ships, bearing more of the unfortunate Huguenots, as the French Protestants were called, and these were speedily followed by a still larger squadron ; the king of France having countenanced and assisted these emigrants to leave their native shores, as Charles had done with the Puritans in England. Their fate, however, was far more unhappy than that of the New England Pilgrims ; for scarcely had they begun to realize some of the benefits of their new abode, before they were attacked by the Spaniards ; and when they had surrendered as Frenchmen, they were all put to death as heretics ! a placard being affixed at the place of execution, announcing that “ the captives were not put to the sword as subjects of France, but as followers of Luther ! ” Nearly a thousand French Protestants were thus put to death ; and only one of their whole number was allowed to live, in order that he might carry intelligence of the massacre to France.

The French monarch, though he had assisted the emigration of the exiles, did not feel a sufficient interest about their fate to take any steps, on this intelligence ; but a French nobleman, De Gorgues, indignant at such treachery and inhumanity, fitted out three ships at his own expense, and sailed for Carolina, where he attacked the unsuspecting occupants ; and obtaining the co-operation of the Indians, he overpowered and put to death all the Catholics, who offered any resistance, and hung up those whom he made prisoners, on the nearest trees, announcing, after the manner of the first murderers, the cause of the massacre, by a placard exhibited at the place of exe-

cution, which stated that “the captives were not put to death as Spaniards, but as murderers and robbers.” Having thus accomplished his purpose, he razed the forts to the ground, and, destroying every habitation, he left the country, and returned to France.

In 1588, Sir Walter Raleigh established his first settlement on the Isle of Roanoak, in Albemarle Sound, and the name of the whole country was changed from Carolina to Virginia. In 1622, some English planters and their families settled here, as refugees from other parts of North America, especially from Massachusetts. At this time, Charles the First granted to his attorney-general, Sir Robert Heath, a patent of the whole region, under the new name of Carolina; but this was subsequently forfeited, by his not performing the conditions annexed to the grant.

It was not until 1663, and after many unsuccessful attempts to colonize this territory, that a charter was obtained for its possession and government, of Charles the Second, in a remarkable manner. Some of his courtiers, to whom he had been most indebted for his restoration, presented to him a memorial, representing to him “their earnest desire to promote the propagation of the gospel, and desiring for this purpose the royal grant of some part of America not yet settled or planted, and where there were only such barbarous people as had no knowledge of God.” On this pretence, the whole region, from lat. 36° north, about Albemarle Sound, a little to the north of Cape Hatteras, all the way to the river St. Matheo, was erected into a province, under the name of Carolina, and granted to the following persons:—Lord Chan-

cellor Clarendon; Monk, Duke of Albemarle; Lord Craven; Lord Berkeley; Lord Ashley (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury); Sir George Carteret; Sir John Colleton; and Sir William Berkeley. By these, a joint-stock company was formed, in shares, and a proprietary government established. As an inducement for persons to emigrate and settle in the new province, the fullest enjoyment of religious freedom was promised by the very parties who were most hostile to its exercise at home: and every freeman arriving in the country was secured the enjoyment of a hundred acres of land for himself, and fifty for his servant, at a rent of only a halfpenny per acre, for five years, with complete exemption from all taxes, customs, or other dues.

These attractions drew many settlers; so that in the course of a few years, the coast to the south had been so far surveyed as to open new sources of profit, and to induce the original patent-holders to seek for an extension of their limits and powers. Accordingly, in 1665, a second charter was obtained by them, reciting and confirming all the privileges of the first, but extending their limits southward to the 29th degree of north latitude, and making their breadth to extend from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific or South Sea! The powers granted to the patentees were almost equal to those of royalty itself. They were allowed to create an order of nobility, by conferring titles of honour, differing only in style from those conferred by the British monarch; and this proviso was again emphatically introduced — “The proprietors were authorized to grant indulgences to such colonists as might be prevented by conscientious scruples from

conforming to the Church of England: to the end that all persons might have liberty to enjoy their own judgments and consciences in religious concerns, provided they disturbed not the civil order and peace of the province."

New energies being thus called into action, the peopling of the province went on more rapidly; and a number of planters came from Barbadoes, conducted by Sir John Yeoman, to settle themselves near Cape Fear. There appears, however, to have been great laxity in morals; and a premium was offered to dishonesty by the regulations introduced professedly to induce emigrants to flock hither. Among other things, it was enacted that no settler should be liable to be sued for any debt owing out of the province for the space of five years; and that none of the inhabitants should be at liberty to accept a power of attorney to sue their neighbours for debts contracted abroad. This colony was, therefore, for a long time considered as the peculiar asylum of fugitive debtors and criminals. As there were few clergy or other ministers of religion, during the first twenty years of the settlement, it was enacted "that in order that none might be hindered from a work so necessary as marriage for the preservation of mankind, any man and woman presenting themselves to the governor and council, along with a few of their neighbours, and declaring their mutual purpose to unite in matrimony, should be legally deemed husband and wife."

This state of things became at length so unpromising, that a new form of government was deemed necessary. Accordingly, in 1669, an instrument was drawn up by direction of the proprietaries, under

the title of "The Fundamental Constitution of Carolina;" its preamble assigning as a reason for its adoption, "that the government of this province may be made more agreeable to the monarchy under which we live; and that we may avoid creating a numerous democracy." What gives a more than usual degree of interest to this instrument is the fact, that it was drawn up by the celebrated John Locke, the author of the "Essay on the Human Understanding," who was patronized and employed for this purpose by the Earl of Shaftesbury. Some points of this are too curious to be passed over without notice, especially as coming from such a pen; as it is believed that Locke had full powers to frame as well as to compose this Constitution; indeed, he himself, at a subsequent period, represented the work as his own, and became, through it, a competitor with William Penn for the honour of being the first enlightened legislator for America.

There were altogether eight proprietaries already named, to whom the grant of Charles the Second had been extended. Of these, the eldest was, by Locke's Constitution, to be palatine of the province during his life, and at his death to be succeeded by the eldest of the surviving seven. The seven other proprietaries, were to be severally invested with the chief offices of state, as admiral, chamberlain, chancellor, constable, chief-justice, high-steward, and treasurer. All these great officers might reside in England, and each appoint his own deputy to act in the colony. There were to be eight supreme courts, to each of which was to be attached a college of twelve assistants: and each of such courts was to be presided

over by the deputy of one of the eight great officers of state. The palatine's court was to represent the king, and through it the palatine would ratify the enactments of the legislature, and exercise all the ordinary executive powers of royalty.

Two classes of hereditary nobility, with possessions proportioned to their respective dignities, and for ever inalienable and indivisible, were to be created by the proprietaries, under the titles of landgraves and caciques; and these, together with the deputies of the proprietaries; and representatives chosen by the freemen, constituted the parliament of the province. This was appointed to be called together every two years, and, when assembled, to form one deliberative body, and occupy the same chamber; but no measure could be discussed here, that had not been previously approved by the grand council of the province, which consisted almost exclusively of the proprietaries' officers and the nobility.

Trial by jury was established in all the courts; but the office of hired or professional pleaders was disallowed, as a base and sordid occupation! and no man was admitted to plead the cause of another, without previously deposing, on oath, that he neither had received, nor would accept, the slightest remuneration for his services!

To avoid the confusion arising from a multiplicity of laws, all acts of the provincial parliament were appointed to endure only one hundred years; after which they were to cease and expire of themselves, without the formality of an express repeal; and to avoid the perplexity occasioned by a multiplicity of commentators, all written comments whatever on the

Fundamental Constitution, or on any part of the statutes or common law of Carolina, were strictly prohibited.

The most remarkable part of this Fundamental Constitution, however, is that which secures to all persons the right of freely exercising their own religion. As the reasons assigned for this privilege appear to be as cogent and effective as they are simple and intelligible, they are well worthy of extensive diffusion, and of practical adoption in every code of laws or regulations for the government, not only of colonies, but of mother-countries also. The provision is expressed in these terms:—

“ Since the natives of the place who are concerned in our plantation are utterly strangers to Christianity, whose idolatry, ignorance, or mistake, gives us no right to expel them, or use them ill; and those who remove from other parts to plant there, will unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them, and it will not be reasonable for us on this account to keep them out; that civil peace may be maintained amidst the diversity of opinions, and our agreement and compact with all men may be duly and faithfully observed, the violation whereof, upon what pretence soever, cannot be without great offence to Almighty God, and great scandal to the religion we profess; and also that Jews, heathens, and other dissenters from the purity of the Christian religion, may not be scared, and kept at a distance from it, but having an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the truth and reasonableness of its doctrines, and the peaceableness and inoffensiveness of its professors, may, by good usage and persuasion, and all those convincing methods of gentleness and meekness suitable to the rules and design of the gospel, be won over to embrace and unfeignedly to receive the truth—THEREFORE any seven or more persons agreeing in any religion, shall constitute a church or profession, to which they shall give some name to distinguish it from others.”

To show, however, how possible it is for extreme liberality of sentiment on some topics, to co-exist in the same mind with illiberality on others, it should be stated, that this same Fundamental Constitution recognized the lawfulness of slavery, one of its provisions being couched in these terms:—"That every freeman of Carolina shall possess absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever. This provision is the more remarkable, as at this time there were few or no negro slaves in the province, excepting only a very small number who had accompanied Sir John Yeamans and his followers from Barbadoes. Locke, however, lived to have clearer ideas of the injustice of slavery before he died; for at a subsequent period, in his controversy with Sir Robert Filmer, the great apologist for tyrannical government in England, Locke thus expresses himself: "Slavery is so vile and miserable an estate of man, and so directly opposite to the generous temper and courage of our nation, that it is hardly to be conceived that an Englishman, much less a gentleman, should plead for it."

The adoption of the Fundamental Constitution for Carolina was immediately followed by the installation of the Duke of Albemarle into the office of palatine of the province; and the sum of 12,000*l.* sterling was expended on the equipment of a fleet, which sailed in 1670, with emigrants and provisions for the colony. With this expedition was sent out to the governor a letter of instructions, containing twenty-three articles, called "Temporary Agrarian Laws," relative to the distribution of the lands, together with the plan of a magnificent town, which he was desired

to build with all convenient speed, and to call it Charles-Town, in honour of the king; and in 1671 the foundation of this town was laid on the banks of the Ashley river, as the metropolis of Carolina. From this time onward, additional settlers came more rapidly, but they were of very mixed character. Among them were many of the Puritans of England, who were induced to prefer this new region to that of their brethren in Massachusetts; but among them were also many of the disappointed Cavaliers, for whom no recompense could be found in England, and to whom estates were given here; as well as rakes, gamblers, and persons of profligate habits and desperate character: so that the most opposite sentiments, views, and feelings were brought into conflict with each other.

In 1673, a further addition was made to the colony, by the emigration of many settlers from the recently-conquered Dutch province of New Netherlands, now New York, who came to Carolina.

In 1679, the position of the first Charleston having been found inconvenient, a new locality was fixed upon for a second city of the same name; and the point chosen for this purpose was at the confluence of the rivers Ashley and Cooper, nearer the sea, where the modern town now stands; and in this year, 1679, its foundations were first laid.

An Indian war broke out in 1680, in which many of the Indians were taken captive. The governor encouraged their capture by offering a certain sum for every Indian brought to Charleston, and he reimbursed himself by selling these Indians to traders who frequented this port from the West Indies, where

they were taken and sold for slaves. This practice of kidnapping the Indians for sale, continued long after the war had ceased; so powerful were the temptations which it offered to men who were too indolent to labour, and too unprincipled to be scrupulous as to the manner of acquiring gain. As one evil almost constantly engenders others, so this early slave-trade in the persons of the native Indians brought a new curse on the colony; for the traders from the West Indies, who were the purchasers of the slaves, imported chiefly rum in return; and the cheapness and excessive use of this led to all manner of disorders in the habits of the people; the evil indeed, became so crying as to induce the legislature, in 1683, to pass certain laws for the repression of drunkenness.

Nevertheless, emigrants continued to resort to Carolina from all quarters. A large party came from Ireland, under the guidance of a person named Fergusson; another party from Scotland came out under the direction of Lord Cardroe, afterwards Earl of Buchan, escaping from the tyranny of the Earl of Lauderdale; and a third party came also from Somersetshire in England, chiefly pious dissenters, led by Humphrey Blake, brother and heir of the distinguished British admiral of that name, escaping also from religious persecution at home.

The good effects which might have resulted from the addition of such settlers as these to the colony, were speedily counteracted, however, by a mischievous and unprincipled alliance between the inhabitants of Carolina, and a set of buccaneers or pirates, which then infested the West India seas, and plundered

everything they could lay their hands upon. It is true that royal countenance had been given to these piracies, by the fact that the king bestowed the order of knighthood on a Welshman named Henry Morgan, who had plundered the Spanish possessions of Panama and Portobello; and the governor and residents in Carolina, harboured, encouraged, and assisted these scourges of the sea, in return for the ill-gotten gold which they squandered among them when in port.

The revolution of 1688 in England made little or no change in the relationship of Carolina with the mother-country; but in 1693, the "Fundamental Constitution" of John Locke, which had lasted only twenty-three years, was abolished; and "its abolition," says the historian, "was unregretted by any party, for it had neither procured respect to the government, nor afforded happiness to the people."

It was about this period, 1694, that rice, now the staple produce of Carolina, was first introduced into the province; and this circumstance is thus recorded by Mr. Grahame:—"A vessel from Madagascar, on her homeward voyage to Britain, happening to touch at Charleston, the captain, in acknowledgment of the hospitable civilities which he had received from the governor, South, presented him with a bag of seed-rice, which he said he had seen growing in eastern countries, where it was deemed excellent food, and yielded a prodigious increase. The governor divided it between several of his friends, who agreed to attempt the experiment of its culture; and, planting their parcels in different soils, found the result to exceed their most sanguine expectations. From this casual occurrence, Carolina derived her staple com-

modity, the chief support of her people, and the main source of her opulence."

The first governor appointed under the new system of government meant to supersede the Fundamental Constitution, was John Archdale, a Quaker, one of the proprietaries at home, a man of excellent understanding and great command of temper. He was invested with almost absolute power, but used it with great discretion; and adhering rigidly to his Quaker principles throughout, he effected more valuable reforms in public policy and private manners, than any of his predecessors. This same individual, after his return to England in 1698, was elected a member of parliament for the borough of Chipping Wycombe, and actually entered the House of Commons as such; but refusing to take the usual oaths, and tendering his simple affirmative instead, this was rejected, and he was accordingly prevented from taking his seat. In the year of his quitting the government of Carolina (1696), which he did with all the honours that a grateful community could bestow, there arrived from Massachusetts some members of an association formed at Dorchester, near Boston, "to encourage the settlement of churches and the promotion of religion in the southern plantations;" and by these the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was for the first time administered in Carolina. They founded the small town of Dorchester, about eighteen miles from Charleston, in memory of the town from which they originally came.

In 1703, an Indian war broke out, occasioned by the influence which the Spaniards exercised over the native tribes, and their desire to turn their arms

against their English rivals. In this contest the British lost 800 men ; but they completely subdued the Indians, burnt and destroyed all their towns ; and transported 1,400 of the Apalachians to the territory now denominated Georgia, where they were compelled to live in dependence on Carolina.

It is remarkable, that though the professed object of the noble courtiers who obtained the first grant of the territory of Carolina from Charles the Second, was to “ propagate the blessings of religion and civility in a barbarous land,” yet for forty years no effort had been made by them to advance this “ noble and pious purpose,” as it was called ; and so, no doubt, it would have remained for forty years more, if left to their own direction. But about this period, a few missionaries were sent out by the Society then incorporated in England for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts. Up to this period, the only “ instruction” that the native Indians had received from the Europeans, was at the hands of a French dancing-master, who settled in the county of Craven, and there acquired a large estate, by teaching the savages to dance and play upon the flute. The only places of worship existing in the colony were three—an Episcopal, a Presbyterian, and a Quaker church or meeting, all within the town of Charleston, but not one throughout all the rest of the province ; and in the northern part of it there was no religious place of worship, and no religious services held, of any kind whatever. It was not until 1705 and 1706, that two religious edifices were erected in the northern province. In 1715 it was divided into nine parishes, each with a parochial vestry and minister ; and the province was then erected

into a separate colony, under the title of North Carolina.

At this period the whole population of Carolina amounted to about 6,000 persons. Printing had not yet been introduced into the colony; the laws were published by oral proclamation, and copies deposited at the courts in writing, which courts were then held in private houses, there being no court-house erected till 1722. Rents and debts were generally paid in hides, tallow, furs, and other productions of the country. Two persons only had suffered death upon the scaffold—one, a Turk for murder; and another, an old woman for witchcraft. At this time there were only a few negro slaves in the country; but the increasing cultivation of rice, which was thought too unhealthy for European constitutions, led to an increased demand for slave-labour, which was easily supplied. Charleston now contained a population of 3,000 inhabitants, a public library, and many handsome edifices; but it was not until 1780 that any printing-press was established in that city.

In the early period of the colony, land was sold at twenty shillings for every 100 acres, and sixpence of quit-rent; in 1694 it was raised to thirty shillings, and in 1711 to forty shillings, with one shilling of quit-rent. The disposition of the occupiers of lands was, however, generally averse to labour, and their tastes extravagant; so that debts were frequent, and insolvent debtors were treated with the utmost indulgence; while the neglect of education, the prevalence of intemperate drinking, and the existence of negro slavery, all contributed their share to retard the general prosperity. This last evil was greatly encouraged by the

conduct of the mother-country; for by the treaty made at the peace of Utrecht in 1713, it was stipulated that the British should enjoy for thirty years the exclusive privilege of supplying the Spanish settlements in South America with negroes; and Queen Anne, who had before given her royal patronage to the slave-trade, engaged that her subjects should, during that period, transport to the Spanish settlements 144,000 of what were called in the language of the trade, "Indian pieces," but which meant negro slaves, in certain specified terms, at the rate of 4,800 negroes a year. This was the contract between His Most Catholic Majesty of Spain, and the Protestant Defender of the Faith, the British Queen; so that her subjects, whose professedly "noble and pious purpose" in founding the colony of Carolina was to "propagate the gospel among barbarous people," were the chief instruments of this odious traffic.

The Indian war of 1715 had greatly drained the revenues and impeded the prosperity of Carolina: and in 1717 the coast of this province was infested with pirates, composed principally of British officers and seamen who had been trained to ferocity and injustice by the legalized piracy of the slave-trade. Many of these were taken and hung at Boston, one of their vessels being captured on the coast of New England, and another wrecked off Cape Cod; while others were captured off the coast of Virginia; and some, who were detected there in the guise of merchants, were executed and hung in chains; while no less than twenty-three persons, the leader of whom was a major in the British army, were taken on the coast of Carolina, and hung at Charleston in 1718.

Among the most prominent of these naval marauders was the celebrated Blackbeard, whose real name was John Heart, and who had been considered, by the rest of his co-operators in this work of villainy, to be so superior to them all in ferocity and wickedness, that they elected him chief of their confederated body, at New Providence in the Bahama Islands ;* but he subsequently preferred to act alone, and chose for his rendezvous the river of Pamlico in North Carolina. In addition to the ferocity of his personal appearance, with his full black beard purposely arranged so as to produce terror in the beholders, with a pair of pistols in holsters, another pair thrown over his shoulders, and lighted matches under his hat, protruding above his ears, he used to perform such fantastic tricks as often to endanger the lives of his associates. On one occasion he undertook to personify a demon, and to show his followers, by anticipation, a picture of hell ! in doing which, he nearly suffocated his crew with the fumes of burning brimstone ; and on another, while seated in his cabin, drunk, he took a pistol in each hand, and, cocking them under the table, blew out the lights, and, crossing his hands, fired right and left at his companions, one of whom was so severely wounded as to be maimed for life. He kept no less than fourteen women who

* Having visited the Bahama Islands about 30 years ago, I remember to have been shown a large overshadowing tree, not far from the port of Nassau, under which Blackbeard and his gang used to hold their councils of war ; and a cave not far from thence, where he used to conceal the spoils. The tree, I believe, has been since blown down ; but the island is full of the traditions of his diabolical and ferocious exploits.

were called his wives, and who were alternately the objects of his sport and the victims of his cruelty.

Yet with such a monster as this, the governor, Eden, and his secretary, Knight, openly communicated—bribed, as every one then believed, by the pirate's gold ; so that he carried on his robberies with impunity. A royal proclamation, issued by George I. having offered pardon to all pirates who would surrender within twelve months, Heart availed himself of this, surrendered to the governor, and took the oath of allegiance ; but squandering his ill-gotten wealth in debauchery and dissipation, he again resumed his old pursuits, and brought into Carolina a French vessel in a state of perfect soundness, but without a crew ; alleged by him to have been found deserted at sea, but which every one else thought had been taken by force, and her officers and crew all put to death.

The Governor Eden, however, admitted the plea as valid, and accordingly the pirate escaped ; but some of the merchants of Carolina, indignant at this indulgence towards so profligate a wretch, communicated the fact to the governor of Virginia, Colonel Spottiswoode, who offered a large reward for the apprehension of the monster ; and Lieutenant Maynard, then in a ship of war in the Chesapeake, collecting a chosen crew in two small vessels, went out to hunt this lion in his den ; when a most sanguinary battle ensued, in which there was great slaughter on both sides. The pirate, in apprehension of defeat, had placed one of his crew with a lighted match over the magazine of gunpowder, with instructions to blow up the ship rather than surrender ; but before this could be accomplished, the

leader of this desperate gang himself fell on the deck, covered with wounds, and faint from loss of blood. The vessel was then taken, and all the survivors of the crew were hung. But though this action gave a great check to piracy on these coasts for a time, it did not entirely extirpate it: for five years after this, no less than twenty-six persons were executed at the same time, for piracy, at Rhode Island.

An important change now took place, in the position of South Carolina. War having been declared between England and Spain, the latter conceived the project of invading the coast of Carolina, and for that purpose fitted out an armament at the Havannah. To meet this, the governor convened the assembly, and asked for funds to put themselves into a position of defence. This the assembly refused, as they were disgusted with the proprietary government. But at the same time, they took advantage of the moment, to raise the standard of revolt against the authority of the proprietary, to elect a new governor, and to proclaim him publicly as governor "in the name of the king." They elected also twelve councillors to assist him, and thus set up an entirely new government, which was subsequently recognized at home, as the proprietaries were declared to have forfeited their charter. As the Spanish armament was defeated in its first attack on New Providence, and nearly all its vessels subsequently wrecked in the Gulf of Florida, all danger was at an end; and the change was hailed by all parties in Carolina as a great blessing.

The new governor, Sir Francis Nicholson, gave a new impetus to many undertakings of public improve-

ment : he promoted the establishment of schools and the spread of religion ; he concluded treaties of peace with the Indian tribes, the Creeks and Cherokees : and gave great and general satisfaction. Meanwhile, in 1729, the original proprietaries of Carolina, among whom were the Duke of Beaufort, Lord Craven, and the Honourable Doddington Greville, were entirely divested of all authority over the province, and a compensation of 17,000*l.* sterling was awarded to them by act of parliament. The two provinces of North and South Carolina were thus vested in the crown ; and in 1750, Sir Alexander Cumming took seven of the Cherokee chiefs to England, where they affixed their marks to a treaty of amity with Britain. The account of their visit is thus recorded : “ When they were presented to the king, they laid their national emblems of sovereignty at his feet, and by an authentic deed declared themselves his subjects, and acknowledged his dominion over all their countrymen, who, they averred, had fully authorized them to make this recognition. They promised especially to assist the English in the pursuit and recapture of fugitive slaves. They were amazed and confounded at the splendour of the British court ; comparing the king and queen to the sun and moon, the princes to the stars of heaven, and themselves to invisible motes in the rays of a dazzling effulgence of grandeur ; and being loaded with presents, both useful and ornamental, they were reconveyed to their own country.”

In the following year, 1731, a valuable accession of settlers was made, in the persons of 370 Swiss, who were taken out by one of their own countrymen, named Purry, he having obtained from the British

government a large grant of land, and 400*l.* sterling, for every hundred able-bodied labourers that he should land in Carolina; and with these he founded the town of Purrysburg, still known by the same name. But about the same period, misrule, corruption, and bribery in the public departments, existed to a lamentable extent; and the paper money that had been issued in both these provinces had so declined in value, that it was depreciated 700 per cent, which led to all manner of fraud, gambling, and embarrassment.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the population still continued to increase. In 1700, it was not more than 6000: in 1723, it was 32,000, of whom there were 18,000 negroes to 14,000 whites. No less than 439 slaves were imported in one year, 1724. In 1730, the negroes amounted to 28,000; and, encouraged by their large numbers, they conceived a plot for massacring all the whites, but it was happily detected and defeated. Such, however, was the cupidity of the slave-merchants in Britain, and the rice-planters in the colony, that in the very face of this danger, they went on importing more negroes from Africa, there being no less than 1500 imported in one year, 1731. In 1734, the colonists themselves publicly adverted to this source of danger, when, in an address from the assembly of Carolina to the king, on the state of the province, they declared that they were "subject to many intestine dangers from the great number of negroes that are now among us." At the same time an ordinance was passed, commanding all the white inhabitants to carry arms with them when they went to the public assemblies and to church!

A strange sect of fanatics, principally among the French refugees, appeared in Carolina about this period, pretending that they were guided in every thing by the impulse of the Divine Spirit, which was superior to all law ; and they lived in open incest and adultery, as they pretended, under the direct guidance of the Deity. Like the Mormons of the present day, now engaged in warfare in the settlements of the west, they defended their doctrines by arms ; but were ultimately overpowered, and some of them were executed for murder. Excessive heats and droughts created almost a famine ; the country was swept by a most furious hurricane, and the yellow fever raged with such malignity, as to hurry multitudes, both of the white and black population, to an early grave. But from all this the colony soon recovered ; and in 1733 it experienced a great influx of capital and population, which, with the planting of the neighbouring colony of Georgia, and the encouragement afforded to their productions at home, relieved it of most of its embarrassments, and caused a great increase of wealth, among the planters especially.

The emigrants that now repaired to Carolina were more numerous than before, and embraced parties from Ireland, Germany, and Holland ; while large numbers of Scotch who had been engaged in the rebellion of 1745, were sentenced to be transported to Carolina and Georgia. The discovery of the indigo plant growing spontaneously in the wild glades of the forest, happening just at this time, furnished abundant occupation for all the newcomers ; while the profit derived from its culture, and the extract of its dye, being immense, the num-

ber of persons engaging in that occupation was so considerable, that in 1767, 300,000lbs of indigo had been shipped from Carolina to England : and at this period there were 330 ships and about 2,000 seamen engaged in the trade with Great Britain.

With all their prosperity, however, there was one danger, always inconvenient, and always increasing ; namely, the large proportion of the negro population to the whites, and the constant dread of their mutiny or revolt. This fear is strikingly displayed in a memorial from the planters of South Carolina, presented to the British government, against a bill for preventing the exportation of rice from any part of the British dominions, in which they say, “ If any stop be put to the exportation of rice from South Carolina, it will not only render the planters unable to pay their debts, but also reduce the government of this province to such distress for want of money, as at this present precarious time may render the whole colony an easy prey to their neighbours, the Indians and Spaniards, and also to those yet more dangerous enemies, their own negroes, who are ready to revolt on the first opportunity, and are eight times as many in number as there are white men capable of bearing arms.” This expression of their alarm was perhaps quickened by the fact that the Spaniards, with a force of 32 ships and 3,000 men, had effected a landing in Georgia ; and among the force was a regiment of free negroes, the black officers of which were dressed in the same uniform as their white comrades, enjoyed the same rank with the Spanish officers, and maintained exactly the same freedom of intercourse with the commander-in-chief, Don Manuel

de Monteano ; as such a sight, to the negroes of South Carolina, if they should reach so far, would be an irresistible incitement to the outbreak of that revolt, for which their masters knew they were ripe.

After an interval of nearly twenty years, we find South Carolina in a more prosperous condition than the once threatening aspect of affairs would have given reason to expect. In consequence of large grants of money from the provincial assembly, to encourage the influx of emigrants, they had come in great numbers from all parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Germany : so that in 1765 the population had advanced to 130,000, of whom only 90,000 were negroes, thus materially altering the relative proportions between the slaves and the free.

But new sources of discontent began to develop themselves ; and the general dissatisfaction of the American provinces with the rule of the mother-country, was felt as strongly in South Carolina as elsewhere. In 1776, when the revolution had made considerable progress in the north, the Carolinians made a noble and successful defence of the city and port of Charleston against the attack of General Clinton and Sir Peter Parker, at the head of a force of 3,000 men, and a squadron of ships mounting 254 guns. The fort, which the people of Charleston had erected on Sullivan's Island, within their harbour, mounted only 26 guns ; and the whole number of their troops amounted to no more than 375 regulars, and a few militia-men ; but though the assault of the British was maintained for ten hours against this inferior force, it was wholly unavailing ; and three of their ships grounding on a shoal, the expedition was aban-

done, with the slight loss on the side of the besieged of only 10 men killed and 22 wounded, and the fort but little injured, though many thousand balls had been expended on it from the British squadron.

Since the period of the revolution, the most marked circumstance in the history of South Carolina has been the attitude of opposition in which it placed itself to the tariff of the general government; and the threats of separation which it made, and seemed prepared to execute, by an appeal to arms. The origin and end of this celebrated controversy may be thus briefly stated. The people of the free states, including all those of the Union north of the river Potomac, wishing to encourage domestic manufactures, and thus to render themselves independent of importations from England, were powerful enough in Congress to establish by law a scale of high duties on almost all British manufactures, ranging from 20 to 50 per cent., professedly with a view to protect the dearer manufactures of their own country. To this the people of the South very naturally objected, as they would derive no benefit whatever from the establishment of manufactures, since their States were not likely to establish any; while on the other hand, they would be injured to a considerable extent, by being obliged to pay for every manufactured article of which they stood in need, from 20 to 50 per cent. more than the price at which they could be supplied from England if no such tariff existed. These high duties were, therefore, clearly founded in injustice, by taxing the consumers of the whole country, for the exclusive benefit of the few engaged in manufactures.

To this system, therefore, the Southern States

generally objected ; and South Carolina put herself forward as the leader of the opposition, who were called Nullifiers, and their doctrine, Nullification ; because they contended that, by the right of State sovereignty and independent government, which each State reserved to itself, and had not conceded to the general government, they were perfectly justified in nullifying all the acts of Congress founded in such gross injustice to their particular interests. The more violent of the Nullifiers recommended an appeal to arms, to maintain their position ; for, having been threatened by the then existing president, General Jackson, with invasion and coercion by force, to adopt the new system, they had determined to resist force by force, and, if necessary, declare their separation from the Union, and form a confederation of the Southern States, to erect them into a new republic. This state of things lasted for many months, under the greatest excitement, and no less than 30,000 men were said to be under arms in South Carolina alone. At length it was happily terminated by the compromise bill of Mr. Clay, which proposed a gradual biennial reduction of the rates of the tariff till the year 1840, when the duties would be reduced to a very moderate scale, and by which time the native manufactures might be expected to be able to sustain themselves, without much fear of competition with foreign productions.

Since that period, Carolina has enjoyed a comparative calm, and is now, at least, tranquil on the subject ; though there are still causes of discontent, which will be adverted to further on, after a description of the State, in its present condition, shall have been given.

CHAP. III.

Description of the State of South Carolina—Topography, soil, climate, productions—Exports of staple commodities, rice and cotton—Mineral productions of the State—Gold recently found in North and South Carolina—Population, gradual increase from 1700—Proportion of slave population to free—Introduction of cotton manufactories—Internal improvements, canals, and railroads—Government of the State, legislative and executive—Representation in Congress—Judiciary—State of education and religion.

THE State of South Carolina is 188 miles long, from north to south ; and 260 broad, from east to west ; lying between latitude 32° and 35° N., and between longitude 78° and 83° W., and containing an area of 33,000 square miles, or about 20,000,000 of acres. It is bounded on the north and north-east by North Carolina, on the south-east by the Atlantic, and on the west by Georgia.

The sea-coast, which runs nearly N.E. and S.W. is uniformly low, with a number of inlets into creeks and lagoons, affording an inside passage of navigation for boats almost all along the coast, which is here, therefore, broken up into innumerable low ridges and islands. A great portion of these are composed of the sands thrown up by the sea ; the rivers and creeks are, therefore, generally shallow, with bars at their entrance ; and much of the surface is liable to frequent inundation by the tides of the ocean, which here rise five or six feet, as well as by the floods of the rivers after heavy rains.

In the interior, beyond this level maritime tract, the land rises by a gentle slope, is drier, and more healthy. Beyond this, the country becomes hilly, till it verges into the mountainous, as it ap-

proaches the great Apalachian chain, or Blue Ridge, as it is sometimes called, where the fertility of the soil and salubrity of the climate are equal to that of any part of the continent. It is here that the rivers, rising from opposite sides of this ridge, flow in opposite directions in their course ; the Tennessee, for instance, flowing south-west, through the State to which it gives its name ; and the Savannah flowing south-east, by the city so called, which stands on its banks near the sea.

There are no less than six classes or kinds of soil in this territory : the first of these is the tide swamp, near the sea ; the second is the inland swamp, above the reach of the tide-water range ; the third is the high-river swamp ; the fourth is the salt marsh ; the fifth is the hickory and oak high land ; and the sixth is the pine barren. In the first two classes, rice and hemp are chiefly cultivated, as these require wet lands for their growth. In the third, hemp, corn, and indigo, thrive best. The fourth, the salt marshes, are not much used. The fifth grows corn, indigo, and cotton. The sixth is the least fertile of all, and consequently is not much cultivated. In point of healthiness, the high lands are the most salubrious, and the low lands the least so. In the first three classes, the miasma of the summer is so fatal to European and American constitutions, that all the white planters quit their homes early in May, and do not return again till October, leaving their plantations during that time to the care of an overseer, and the negro slaves. If the overseer be a white man, he is almost sure to be attacked with fever and ague during the autumn ; and though he may survive the attack, every repetition of it makes great

havoc on his frame, and ultimately carries him off. The high lands are dry and healthy, and the residents there may remain at home all the year round.

The climate, as far as temperature is concerned, is more agreeable than in most other parts of the United States, having no greater heat than Maine and Massachusetts in summer, and being free from their intense colds in winter. In Charleston, for seven years, the thermometer was not known to rise above 93° or fall below 17° above zero; while in Boston it was during the last summer above 100° , and in the present winter was at 8° below zero. Frost very rarely occurs on the low lands, nor ever lasts more than a day or two; and it is mentioned as a very unusual circumstance, which alarmed many of the people of the country, that snow once remained on the ground for a period of three days. The most variable period of the year is February; the most sultry is August; and the greatest variation of temperature ever experienced in any one day was 46° . In the highlands and mountains, towards the western boundary of the State, the frosts are sometimes severe, and snow remains for weeks in succession.

Among the articles of culture, fruits abound, and pears, pomegranates, melons, oranges, and pine-apples, are produced in great perfection; while apples, peaches, nectarines, apricots, figs, olives, and almonds, are also grown in various parts of the country. Grain is not much cultivated, at least in wheat, barley, or oats, for all these are imported from the north, and their growth is neglected for the more profitable cultivation of rice and cotton, which form the staple productions of the State. The introduction of rice by a ship from the East Indies, and the

discovery of the indigo plant growing wild in the woods, have been already mentioned. These constituted, with tobacco, the earliest articles of produce, until about 1795, when cotton began to be raised; and since that period rice and cotton have formed the chief articles of growth and export from the State. The following tabular view from the most recent official documents up to January 25, 1839, will shew its extent :—

EXPORTS OF COTTON AND RICE, FROM THE PORT OF CHARLESTON.						
Exported to	From October 1, 1838, to January 25, 1839.			From October 1, 1837, to January 26, 1838.		
	Sea Island.	Upland.	Rice.	Sea Island.	Upland.	Rice.
Liverpool,	664	21026	2799	1309	42932	2550½
Scotland,	97	1949	9	13	6068	3
Other British ports, ...		1084	2545½		1468	2394½
Total to Great Britain,	761	24059	5352½	1322	50468	4948
Havre,	357	15895	1111½	367	20172	964½
Marseilles,		1613			1188	224
Other French ports, ...		1749	2902½		43	447
Total to France,	357	19254	4014	367	21403	1635½
Holland,		291	3755		4524	3642
Germany,		138	1251		1052	347
North of Europe,		1031	718½		583	257
Total North of Europe,		1460	5724½		6161	4246
South of Europe,					252	49
West Indies, &c.			6650		840	9092
Total to Foreign ports,	1118	44776	21742	1689	79124	19970½
Boston,		7036	2373	22	9367	2933½
Rhode Island, &c.	57	3533	187	41	1952	191
New York,	107	13059	3621½		11810	4505
Philadelphia,		2853	510		1308	405
Baltimore and Norfolk,		1174	1003		787	1168½
New Orleans, &c.			4859½			3674½
Other U.S. ports,			115½			300½
Total Coastwise,	164	27600	12169½	63	25215	13178
Grand Total,	1282	72436	33911½	1752	104339	31448½

By this table it will be seen that the amount of cotton exported is less, and the quantity of rice exported rather more, in the last quarter of the last year, than in the corresponding period of the preceding ; but the difference is not material in either ; and the whole export of the year 1838 may be taken to be about 250,000 bales of cotton, and 100,000 tierces of rice. The following table, drawn from the same official documents, and up to the same date, will show the comparative exports of cotton from the different ports of the United States :

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF EXPORTS OF COTTON FROM THE UNITED STATES, COMMENCING OCT. 1, 1838.						
Exports from	1838-39.			1837-38.		
	Great Britain.	France.	Other Ports.	Great Britain.	France.	Other Ports.
New Orleans, Jan. 19,	41512	39448	3039	103272	37741	2728
Mobile, Jan. 19,	13073	7716		10204	8893	800
Savannah, Jan. 24, ... }	31381	7614	1570	60734	8397	
Do. Sea Island, }	138	51		617	32	
Charleston, Jan. 25, }	24059	19257	1460	50468	21403	7253
Do. Sea Island, }	761	357		1237	367	
Virginia, Jan. 1,	1050		104	4309	3000	200
New York, Jan. 16, ...	6594	8349	544	15308	3620	3461
Other Ports, Jan. 1, ...	1725	134		10200		60
Grand Total, ...	125293	82926	6717	256349	88453	14502
Coastwise Exports from the Southern to the Northern ports, from 1st of October, 1838, to dates, 145,938 bales.						
Coastwise Exports from the Southern to the Northern ports, from 1st of October, 1837, to dates, 111,392 bales.						

Of the two descriptions of cotton, the Sea Island, which, as will be seen by the first table, is the smallest in quantity, is produced from a black seed, is reared near the sea-coast with great care, and cleaned at great expense ; and it is sold in the market here at from 50 to 75 cents, or from 2s. to 3s. sterling per

pound ; while the Upland cotton is produced from a white seed, at less cost, and cleaned with less care, and this sells at from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 cents, or from 6d. to $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pound, the proportion of the first being only as 1 to 72 in quantity grown, to the last ; and the greatest profit is said to be made by the cultivation of the coarser kind.

Of mineral productions there are, in various parts of the State, lead and iron ore, potter's clay, fuller's earth, talc, marble, and limestone ; with several ocherous earths used in the manufacture of painters' colours. Gold, also, is produced in this region ; but this precious metal abounds most in North Carolina, where there are at present not less than 30,000 persons employed in the gold district, in the mines under working, and in digging for the discovery of new veins. It is found generally mixed with the soil, from the smallest particles up to pieces of one or two pounds weight, valued from 100 to 1,000 dollars ; and one piece was dug up in Cabarras county, worth about 8,000 dollars, or 1,600*l.* sterling. The present product of the gold-mines is said to be about 100,000 dollars per week, or a million sterling per annum. It is worthy of remark, that in the opening of new mines, evidences are found of their having been previously worked, and that by the native Indians ; as crucibles and mining instruments have from time to time been discovered under circumstances, and in situations, which make it impossible to attribute them to even the earliest of the European adventurers.

The population of South Carolina has been progressively on the increase, but with nothing like the

rapidity of the Northern States, as will be seen by the following statement :—

In 1701 it was	7,000	In 1800 it was	345,591
1749 “	30,000	1810 “	415,115
1750 “	64,000	1820 “	502,714
1765 “	130,000	1830 “	581,458
1790 “	249,073		

The increase in the slave population was, however, more rapid than that among the white ; for their numbers stand thus :—

In 1765 it was	90,000	In 1810 it was	196,365
1790 “	107,094	1820 “	258,475
1800 “	146,151	1830 “	315,365

So that in 1830 the whole population comprehended 581,458, of whom only 257,878 were whites, and 315,365 slaves, the remainder being 7,215 free people of colour, making the whole coloured population greatly in excess at the last census. The general impression here is, that the proportions of the excess has rather increased than diminished since that period ; so that the evil of this disproportion is continually on the advance.

Some large mills, for the spinning of cotton yarn, have been established of late years in South Carolina, and these are said to yield a good profit. They are worked by machinery made at West Point, on the Hudson river, turned by water-power, and directed partly by free and partly by slave labour ; the more expert of the latter being found to be the only persons fit for such employment among their race. Some of the yarn is exported to the north ; and some is

woven into coarse clothes adapted for negro apparel, in which it is chiefly consumed.

The internal improvements of the State are advancing, though slowly in comparison with those of the northern sections of the Union. A canal, extending 22 miles from the Santee to the Cooper river, was completed in 1802, the length of which was 22 miles, at a cost of 650,000 dollars. Several smaller canals and streams extending beyond this, continue the water navigation to Columbia, the capital of the State, a distance of about 130 miles directly inland from Charleston. A railroad from Charleston to Hamburg, a small town immediately opposite to Augusta, on the Savannah river, has also been completed for 135 miles, at a cost of about 800,000 dollars ; and a railroad from Charleston to Columbia is in progress, and a large portion of it completed.

The government of South Carolina is conducted at the capital, Columbia, which is nearly in the centre of the State, where the legislature assemble once in each year. Its executive consists of a Governor, at a salary of 3,500 dollars per annum, a Secretary of State, and seven or eight other functionaries, at salaries of from 1,500 to 2,000 dollars per annum each ; and a House of Assembly and a Senate form the two legislative chambers. The State is represented in the general legislature at Washington, by nine members of Congress sent by general election of the citizens to the House of Representatives, and two Senators elected by the Legislature of the State.

The Judiciary consists of four Chancellors in Equity, at 3,000 dollars per annum, who perform

the duty of Circuit Judges, and hold Equity Courts at different points of the State at fixed periods ; and seven Judges of the General Sessions and Common Pleas, at the same salaries, who perform similar duties in the administration of the statute and common law, for civil and criminal cases. Appeal Courts are held also at Charleston and Columbia : and a Court for the correction of errors, composed of all the Judges of Law and Equity, is held to consider all questions on which the Appeal Courts may be divided in opinion. The Judges are all appointed for life.

Education is not neglected in this State ; for besides the College at Columbia, and the South Carolina College at Charleston, each containing a large number of students, schools are very numerous, and the State Legislature appropriates the sum of 40,000 dollars annually for the support of free schools, of which there were in the last year about 920, with from 9,000 to 10,000 scholars.

Of the various sects of religion in the State, the Methodists have the greatest number of church members, upwards of 30,000, though their ministers do not exceed 60. The Baptists have the greatest number of churches and ministers, 168 of the former and 142 of the latter, with about 15,000 communicants. The Presbyterians have 82 churches, 58 ministers, and about 15,000 communicants ; and the Episcopalians have 28 churches, and 36 ministers ; while Roman Catholics, Unitarians, and Universalists, have each a few congregations only.

Such is the present condition, as nearly as it can be ascertained, of the State of South Carolina.

CHAP. IV.

Description of the city of Charleston—Topography, aspect, Public buildings, churches—Benevolent and charitable institutions—Commerce, shipping, and seamen—Banks and insurance companies—Institutions for education, colleges, schools—Literary and political journals, reviews, newspapers—Views of Southern writers on the subject of slavery—Advantages derived from breeding slaves—Examples of capacity for business and learning in Negroes—Invincible prejudices of Southern people on this subject.

THE city of Charleston is most advantageously situated for commerce with the interior, and communication with the sea; having, in this respect, a striking resemblance to the position of New York; for in the same manner as that city is seated on a peninsula, washed on the east by the East river, on the west by the Hudson, and on the south by the sea, so Charleston is seated on a projection of land, almost insular, and joined, like Boston, by a narrow isthmus, called "The Neck," to the main land, having the Ashley river to wash its sides on the west, the Cooper river to fringe it on the east, and its southern extremity bathed by the junction of these two streams in their passage to the sea; there being, as at New York, a point at this junction, called "The Battery," forming an agreeable promenade.

The city, extending from this point inland, or upward, occupies an area of about a mile and three quarters in length, from north to south, and

average breadth of about a mile and a quarter, from river to river, east to west. This area being a perfect level, enabled the founders of the city to lay out its plan with tolerable regularity ; the streets, therefore run generally, but not exactly, north and south, and east and west, the latter crossing the peninsula from river to river ; the wharfs for the shipping, like those in New York, being chiefly ranged along the eastern edge of the town. The streets are generally from 50 to 80 feet in breadth. They were, up to a very recent period, lined on each side with trees, like those of Philadelphia ; but within the last two years, these have been removed ; the public authorities of the city entertaining an opinion that their roots injured the pavements, so as to cause great expense for their repair, and that the decayed vegetable matter, occasioned by the falling leaves in autumn, was unfavourable to health. The centres of the streets are macadamized, and the side pavements are of brick. The streets are lighted with oil lamps, and are kept in good order.

A very recent and destructive fire, happening in the summer of the year 1838, destroyed nearly half the town. Its ravages were confined chiefly to the upper part of the city, where the dwellings were principally of wood, though many fine brick buildings were destroyed at the same time ; and the distress created by this calamity was general. A very liberal subscription was raised in the cities of the North, for the relief of the sufferers, to which the Bank of the United States at Philadelphia alone contributed 20,000 dollars ; and the Legislature of the State advanced large sums by way of loan to

individuals desiring to rebuild, on the security of their ground and premises, so that the work of restoration is now going on rapidly. As the State Legislature has passed a law prohibiting the future erection of wooden buildings, all the new edifices are to be built of brick, by which not only the beauty of the city will be much increased, but the safety of life and property be much greater than formerly. Here, as in the great fire at New York, most of the buildings were insured; but the excess of loss sustained, caused the bankruptcy of the Insurance offices, and, therefore, left the sufferers without remedy.* What added to the distress of this visitation was, that it was accompanied by a most fatal sickness, occasioned, it is thought, by the exposure of so many cellars, pools, cisterns, and drains, to the burning sun, by the destruction of the buildings, and uncovering of the soil by which they were before shaded; and this sickness, far more virulent than their ordinary fevers, carried off large numbers of the native inhabitants as well as strangers.

The general aspect of the city is far inferior to that of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore; nor has it the solidity and thriving appearance of Albany, Utica, Rochester, or Buffalo, or the beauty and elegance of Geneva, Canandaigua, or New Bedford. It more resembles a West Indian than an American city—from the number of wooden buildings painted white, the large verandas and porticoes

* Charleston was burnt down in 1740, when 300 of the best houses were consumed, and £200,000 worth of property destroyed. On this occasion the British parliament granted £20,000 for relief.

of the more stately mansions of brick, and the universal prevalence of broad verandas, green Venetian blinds, and other provisions to secure coolness and shade. The shops have none of the exterior elegance or display, which characterizes those of the Broadway, in New York, or Chesnut-street, in Philadelphia; but are literally stores, like those in Pearl-street and Pine-street, in the first-named city.

Among the public buildings, the Exchange, the City Hall, the Court House, and the State offices, may be mentioned as the most prominent. The two first were built while Charleston was an English colony; and it is the opinion of the residents here, in which strangers would join them, that there have been no public edifices erected since the revolution, so good as those constructed before. Both the buildings named are as fine as any of the kind in the United States, and both are admirably adapted to the purposes for which they were erected. The first is of stone, the second of brick, with an ornamented front of Ionic pilasters and pediment, and the exterior and interior of each is in perfect harmony and keeping, blending, in a very happy manner, solidity, elegance, and utility. The Court House and the State offices, which are both near the City Hall, one built of stone, in a chaste style of architecture; while the latter is made fire-proof, by the exclusion of all wood, and the use of plates of copper for the roofing.

Of churches, there are not less than 23, including 6 Episcopal, 3 Presbyterian, 1 Baptist, 4 Methodist, 2 Catholic, 1 Unitarian, 4 Independent, 1 Quakers' Meeting, and 1 Synagogue. Two of the Episcopalian churches, St. Philip's and St. Michael's, were built

before the revolution ; the first was so much injured by the late fire, as to require to be almost entirely rebuilt. The second is the largest church, and has the tallest steeple (165 feet) in the city. In its interior it is so like an old English church in every particular, that it is difficult, when hearing the Episcopal service read in it, and looking round on the congregation, to imagine one's self anywhere but in England. The high pews, dark panelling, like well-polished oak or old mahogany, the altar with its tablets of the Commandments and the Creed in gold letters on a black ground, the antique pulpit, with its suspended sounding-board, deep-crimson velvet cushions, and the mural monuments of persons buried nearly a century ago—are all so thoroughly English, that, but for the substitution of the “President and the Congress,” in the public prayers, instead of “Her Majesty and the High Court of Parliament,” there was nothing here to remind one of America.

My lectures were given in the First Presbyterian church, a very handsome building, comfortably accommodating upwards of a thousand auditors, for more than that number regularly attended them. The Second Presbyterian church is still larger, but circular, of 90 feet diameter, surmounted by a handsome spire. The other churches are smaller ; but all neatly fitted, commodious, and comfortable.

There are several excellent institutions of a benevolent and charitable nature in Charleston, of which the principal is the Orphan Asylum, supported partly by the city funds, and partly by legacies, donations, and private subscriptions. It contains frequently from 150 to 200 orphans, for whose present state and future condition it provides judiciously

and liberally. There is also a good general Hospital, and an Almshouse for the sick and the needy ; these last being more numerous here than in the northern sections of America, because, though wages are high, there are not so many resources of employment for those who may require it, and especially for the foreign emigrants who find their way here. The poor are supported at the expense of the inhabitants of the districts from whence they come, or in which they are found. In the last year, before the great fire already described, the number of paupers in the poor-house were 373, of whom 171 were foreigners : and the number of persons to whom rations were granted as out-door pensioners during the same year, were 180, of whom 20 were foreigners. Since the fire, the number of both classes is much greater, but this is, of course, no criterion of the general state of things.

There are three societies of a benevolent nature ; one called the South Carolina Society, another the St. Andrew's Society, and another the Hebrew Society. To the first, all persons born or living in South Carolina are eligible to become annual subscribers, and after paying a fixed sum per annum for ten years, their representatives are entitled, to their death, to receive a proportionate sum in principal, or a corresponding annuity for life : this association is very liberally supported, and is consequently rich. The second is an institution confined entirely to natives of Scotland, or their descendants. It unites the double purpose of providing, by this sort of mutual insurance, for the members of each other's families, and of serving to keep alive the national feeling in favour of the father-land, by four festive

meetings during the year, and a grand anniversary on St. Andrew's day. The Scotch being numerous here, and including among their body some of the most opulent merchants, they have erected a noble building, St. Andrew's Hall, with a spacious saloon for public occasions, and ample accommodation for offices, housekeeper, and servants, Among the relics of the old country and the olden time, I was shown the antlers of some Highland deer; horns or mulls for snuff; and Highland dresses, kilts, and bonnets, which are worn on great festivals; nor did I ever hear more thorough Scotch accent than in the conversation of members of this society who had been in Charleston twenty and thirty years, but who still spoke as if they had never quitted their native hills. The Hebrew Society is confined entirely to the Jews, who are here both numerous and wealthy, and who have a Synagogue, and a charitable association most liberally supported, though confined of course to people of their own faith and nation. There is also a New England Society, incorporated in 1820, for the relief of persons belonging to the New England States. They have upwards of 100 members, all New Englanders, and they celebrate the anniversary of the "Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on the Rock at Plymouth," by festivities and an oration. An Hibernian Society, for the relief of the destitute Irish, has also been recently formed, and a hall is about to be built for their accommodation.

The commerce of Charleston is greater than that of any port between New York and New Orleans, exceeding that of Philadelphia or Baltimore. The extent of its shipments in the two great staples of

rice and cotton has been given in the description of the State ; but it may here be added, that the ships actually belonging to the port of Charleston, including large and small, amount to nearly 20,000 tons ; while not less than 180,000 tons, exclusive of coasters, enter the harbour in the course of the year. It is one of the ports of the United States that has provided a "Sailors' Home" or Temperance Boarding House, with a church attached to it, for its seamen only. It is presided over by a young minister of the gospel, who was himself once a sailor, and who evinces the most disinterested zeal in the discharge of its duties. Regular lines of packets sail from hence to the principal ports of America and the West Indies ; and steam-vessels go to all the ports of the west, and up the rivers into the interior. Vessels from London, Glasgow, Liverpool, and Havre, are almost always found in the harbour of Charleston ; and of late years there has been a growing desire on the part of the merchants to make the trade between Europe and South Carolina much more direct, instead of going, as at present, by the circuitous, and as they think less profitable channels, of New York, and the ports of the north.

There are eight Banks, all conducting their business on a large scale ; five Insurance Companies ; and a Chamber of Commerce, for guarding the interests of trade ; and nowhere does there appear to be a more gentlemanly and liberal mode of conducting business of every kind than here, mixed with great civility and politeness, and a freedom from that eagerness of gain which is so characteristic of the north.

The Institutions for education are extensive in number, and excellent in character, in the city of Charleston. Besides the College for classical instruction, and the Medical college for professional education, there are no less than 80 schools, for the younger portion of the community, including boarding, day, and free schools, and the number of pupils in the whole are not less than 2,000. I learnt, from persons connected with the business of education, that it was formerly the custom for the more wealthy families to send their children to the Universities of the north, especially to Providence and Boston, for education ; but that latterly this practice had decreased, and given place to the much more general one of educating them in Charleston or Columbia, within the State. On inquiring the cause of this change, the reason assigned was this : that the students returning from the north so often came home "*tainted* with Abolitionism," (that was the exact phrase used) and with such a "*distaste for their domestic institutions,*" meaning slavery, (that being the term usually substituted for this disagreeable word), that it was thought dangerous to the welfare of the country any longer to continue the practice of sending their children to the north, where they imbibed such dangerous doctrines as Abolitionism, and were thus rendered averse to the "*domestic institutions*" of the south.

The literary productions of Charleston have been characterized by great ability, but from the want of proper support they have not been able to sustain themselves, and have accordingly, after a short existence, been discontinued. The Southern Review was one of these, and the Southern Literary Journal

another : the pages of both bear witness to the talents and learning of the editors and their contributors ; but neither of them had a sufficient circulation to cover their expenses. At present Charleston has a weekly periodical, entitled "The Southern Rose," edited by Mrs. Caroline Gilman, and, as a work of professedly light literature, it exhibits a happy union of information and good taste. There are three daily newspapers, two morning and one evening, all advocating the democratic principles of the revolution. The leading morning paper, the *Courier*, is conducted with great ability, by Mr. Yeadon, a barrister of the city ; and the evening paper, the *Patriot*, is edited by Mr. Cadoza, a Jew ; but all three are characterized by a more gentlemanly and courteous tone towards each other, than rival or friendly papers are in the north ; and I did not see so much of vituperation of men and measures, in all the Charleston papers for three weeks, as one may sometimes see in a single paper of Boston and New York in as many days. Besides these, there are three religious newspapers, the *Methodist*, the *Presbyterian*, and the *Roman Catholic*, all published weekly, each adapting its information to the peculiar views of the sect for which it is issued ; and the *Southern Agriculturist*, a work devoted exclusively to objects connected with the cultivation of the soil.

Among all these publications, whether quarterly, monthly, weekly, or daily, there is not one that ever ventures to speak of slavery as an institution to be condemned, or even regretted. They are all either indulgent towards, or openly advocates of, this state of bondage ; and the higher the rank or character

of the publication, the more boldly it speaks out on this subject, and the more popular it becomes in the south by so speaking. A few examples of this from one of the ablest of the works referred to, "The Southern Literary Journal," may be offered in confirmation of this view.

In the first volume for 1835, (p. 127), an extract of a letter is given from an anti-abolitionist at the north, in which he says, "I believe that facts will warrant the assertion, that the condition of the slave population in the aggregate is better than that of the free black, who assumes all the cares and responsibilities of self-support." And after denouncing, as the greatest of evils, all attempts to promote the abolition of slavery, he thus describes its inevitable consequences, if accomplished—"Your fair land, which now supports a numerous and *happy* population (it is thus he speaks of the slaves), would become the wretched abode of the desperate and depraved." And then he exclaims—"What Christian, what philanthropist, would aid in such a work! Every step the abolitionist would take, to dissolve abruptly the relations of master and slave, would be *evil* in its progress, and *evil* in its results. Is any man called upon, on *Christian* principles, to be a minister of *evil*? Surely, no!" Puerile as such a method of arguing this question must appear to most persons, first prophesying consequences, then assuming qualities, and lastly begging the whole question; yet the editor of the Southern Journal says, of this communication—"These views reflect credit both upon the *head* and the *heart* of the writer—are philanthropic, christian, and politic." It is thus that compliments

and eulogies are exchanged between those who uphold this system ; and who, if the weakest and most superficial remarks in favour of slavery were to be put forth in any shape, and from any quarter, would praise them in the loftiest terms.

The concluding passage, however, of the editor's remarks on this communication, exhibits an attachment to slavery, which no purchase-money, in the shape of compensation, could lessen ; for in reference to the supposed willingness of the north to give an *equivalent* to the planters of the south, for the purchase of their negroes' freedom, as was done by the British towards the proprietors of slaves in our West India islands, he says—" On the subject of an *equivalent*, however, to be offered by the citizens of the north for our slaves, we undertake to say that South Carolina, at least, would not, *for all the wealth that is garnered up in the coffers of the New England States*, become a party to a bargain so ruinous and degrading. *The citizens of the south stand upon their rights !* They are able to protect their domestic institutions (this is the mild phrase under which slavery is usually described in the Southern writings) by the shield of the constitution, and could easily show, *if they would condescend to do it*, that slavery has been not only theoretically, but practically recognized as lawful, in every country, under every government, and by every religion. Under these circumstances, *they would scorn to barter away their dearest rights for money*. There is no equivalent that *can* be offered them, which they would think it their duty to accept."

It might be thought unnecessary to go further than

this, to show the tenacity with which the Southerners cling to their "domestic institutions," and at what hazards they are ready to uphold and defend them. But a few references to other authorities may be given, to show how extensively these sentiments are diffused. Dr. Cooper, the president of Columbia College, in the capital of South Carolina, says, in an article on slavery in the same volume, p. 188— "I do not know a more bold, a more impudent, a more unprincipled, unblushing falsehood, than to say that *slavery is inconsistent with the laws of God*, if the Bible be assumed as the repository of those laws. I do not wish to go over the ground again, already trodden for the hundredth time; but I claim the right of appealing to your readers who read the Bible, whether, from the time of Abraham to the time of the Apostle Paul, there be not the most ample proof of domestic slavery being ordained, practised, and approved by the Jews in the Old, and by the Christians in the New Testament, without *one* contradictory or condemnatory passage or precept?" While such are the sentiments of learned heads of colleges in the south, it is not to be wondered at, that those who conceive their *interests* involved in the maintenance of such views generally, should be afraid to send their children to be educated in the north, as there at least such doctrines are not likely to be taught.

In the same volume (p. 207) is a brief enumeration of the recent publications on the slave question, which the editor has received for review; and on these, including nine different works by different authors, he has the following remarks: "The Amena-

bility of Northern Incendiaries, as well to Northern as to Southern Laws,' is the title of a pamphlet by the senior editor of the Charleston Courier, a gentleman well known in our community as a sound constitutional lawyer, and a successful advocate. The right of South Carolina to demand of the Northern States the *persons* of the incendiaries, for the purpose of punishment, he places on the broad and recognized principles of the law of nations applicable to such cases; the only ground, in law, upon which, in our opinion, the right can be maintained." Another of the works reviewed is entitled, 'An Appeal to the *good* sense of a *great* people; the tribunal that must finally settle this vexed question;' on which the editor says, "that is, as *we* understand it, the People of the *South*; for an appeal to any *other*, we should esteem worse than idle." 'Remarks on Slavery, by a Citizen of Georgia,' is described as "an able and successful attempt to prove that slavery is upheld and countenanced by the writers of the Old and New Testaments;" and another work, entitled 'Two Sermons on the subject of Slavery, by Simon Dogget,' is said to "sustain ably the scriptural argument in *favour* of slavery, from the classical pen of a venerable clergyman of Massachusetts, who passed the last winter among us (in the South)."

In an article entitled 'A Visit to Sir Roger de Coverley's Plantation,' purporting to give a faithful picture of a southern estate, is found the following remarkable passage. After describing the little dwellings of the negroes, which were all whitewashed, the owner of the plantation, represented under the name of Sir Roger de Coverley, thus explains the

reason of this:—he says, “I have these houses whitewashed every spring; this contributes not only to their good appearance, but to the health of their inmates. Cleanliness is indispensable to health, and *makes the slave prolific*. I have, at this time, a hundred and fifty of these people; and their *annual increase* may be estimated as *adding as much to my income* as arises from all other sources.” No wonder, therefore, that Sir Roger should feel a little uneasy at the progress of Abolitionism, as being likely to disturb this *annual increase to his income* from the prolific qualities of his slaves. “This endearing relation,” he continues, “with feelings of virtuous indignation apparent on his countenance,” (such is the language of the narrator,) “equally *beneficial* to both bond and free, is the one which ignorant, envious, self-styled philanthropists, have pronounced to be tyrannical and unjust. How little do these meddlers know of the actual state of things which they so vehemently condemn! You see around you, Sir, only healthy, laughing, contented beings, of either sex, all of them well clad, all of them engaged in wholesome and moderate labour, without which the mere name of freedom, even if they possessed it, would be a curse: you see them comfortably provided for; all their reasonable wants daily and duly supplied; they are at no expense for the support of their families; they incur no debts; they pay no fines; they fear no bailiff; they are free from corroding cares; they are not harassed by the restless desire of amassing fortunes, which a breath of wind may dissipate; they are remote from the vexatious arena of political life—the mad strife for office and honour. By day they labour cheer-

fully ; at night their sleep is sweet, and they care not for the morrow." To all which, Mr. Addison, another of the conversational party, is made to reply as follows :—"I think that the 'pseudo-philanthropists to whom you refer, have done you and the cause of truth no little injustice. What more does man really require, than a sufficiency to supply all his natural wants? Society, it is true, places him in an artificial position, and extends his desires indefinitely, but is it certain that this change renders him a happier being? I doubt it. I am not certain that the slave, all things considered, is not more independent of events than his master—that he is not, in fact, a *freer* being."

The last example I shall quote will be from an article entitled 'Reflections elicited by Judge Harper's Anniversary Oration, delivered before the South Carolina Society for the Advancement of Learning, December 9, 1838.' The judge, it appears, in this address, invited the attention of the members of this Society especially to the subject of Domestic Slavery, or, in the language of the editor, one of the "cherished institutions" of the South; and the learned orator thus speaks of it himself :—"I believe that no one who has the slightest acquaintance with the subject, on whom argument would not be wasted, imagines it to be possible that slavery should cease to exist among us in our day, or for *generations* to come. Our proudest and most deeply-cherished feelings—which others, if they will, may call prejudices—our most essential interests—our humanity and consideration for the slaves themselves—nay, almost physical impossibility, forbid that this should be done by *our own*

act ; and, thank God ! we, the slave-holding communities of the South, are too strong, and on this subject too united, to admit the thought that it can be effected by external force. As to the aid which external force may derive from insurrection, as far as relates to the final success of such an attempt, we do not admit it into our thoughts : no—if that event is ever to be brought about, it must be by a force superior to that of all the people and potentates of the earth.”

When such influential persons as editors of quarterly journals and daily newspapers, presidents of colleges, and judges on the bench, maintain and propagate such views as these, it is certainly not to be wondered at that the youths of Carolina, educated at home, and hearing scarcely any other views of slavery expressed, but such as I have quoted, should grow up in the belief that they are just and sound, and receive them as the maxims of wisdom from the lips and pens which are guided by age and experience. A stranger, not so brought up and imbued with those “proudest and most deeply-cherished feelings, which others, if they will, may call prejudices,” may be forgiven, however, for saying, that as far as his senses can inform him, he does not recognize the fidelity of the picture which these writers give of the condition of the slaves of South Carolina. Instead of seeing only “healthy, laughing, contented beings of either sex,” I confess I have never witnessed, in any population of the earth, less indications of laughter and content than on the countenances of the slaves met with at every hour of the day ; their general expression being that of great gravity and gloomy

discontent ; and a pretty strong evidence of their not being quite so “happy and contented” as is described, may be found in these facts ;—that every precaution is taken to prevent an insurrection, by a large military and police establishment, which exercises great vigilance by day and by night ; that guard-houses, bells, and drums, warn the coloured person, whether slave or free, not to be found out of his dwelling after nine o'clock ;—and that their meeting in greater numbers than a dozen, even for religious purposes, without the presence of a white man, is strictly prohibited and enforced. Instead of “all of them being well clad,” a very large number have ragged, and nearly all dirty clothes ; and on some plantations, a single suit of a woollen jacket and trousers, without a shirt, is the whole apparel allowed for a year ! Instead of “all being well fed,” the scanty measure of Indian corn is barely sufficient for subsistence ; rice is in many instances thought too costly for them ; salt is either stinted or withheld ; and as to animal food, it is rarely given at all, except on very particular occasions. Instead of “wholesome and moderate labour,” the employment of many is, in the marshy lands, so fatal to life, that no Europeans can reside there through the summer, and even the negroes suffer much from agues and fevers ; while their labour is often excessive, both in the length of time it endures and the toil it requires.

It is quite true, as the same writer says, that “they are at no expense to maintain their families ;” but it should be added, that they give all their labour, by which alone they could do this, to their masters, and thus their families are deprived of whatever that labour,

if fairly paid for, could provide them beyond bare subsistence. It is also true, that "they incur no debts;" but neither do they ever accumulate a surplus; "they pay no fines," because their penalties are taken from them in stripes; "they fear no bailiffs," but they have often reason to dread the whip of the overseer; "they are not harassed by the restless desire of amassing fortunes," which cuts them off from all the pleasures of advancement in the world by their own industry; and if "their labour is cheerful by day, and their sleep sweet by night," they are, nevertheless, continually in the habit of running away, most foolishly, of course, from all this happiness and contentment; just as sailors desert from ships of war into which they have been impressed, and as debtors and criminals escape from the prisons in which they are confined against their will. This love of freedom is *known* to be so strong, even among these "happy and contented beings," that nothing is more common than to see, in the daily newspapers, rewards offered for the apprehension of runaways, with the occasional offer of "freedom" to those who may give information of robberies and conspiracies, as the highest reward that can be offered, to tempt slaves to furnish the information required.

All these things make an impression on the mind of a stranger; and, without doubting for a moment that there are many kind masters and mistresses, who do much to make the condition of their slaves easy and tolerable, it cannot but be evident to him, that the great mass of them are not treated so well as many of the brute creation; and that the dogs and horses of their masters are better fed, have less

labour, less punishment, and quite as much of intellectual culture and enjoyment as the slave: for if the one has not the capacity to learn, the other is strictly forbidden to acquire the power to read. This shutting up of all the avenues to knowledge in the slaves, is, no doubt, done with a view to keep them in a state of greater dependence and subordination; but it is defended on the ground of their utter unfitness for mental improvements, and an entire deficiency of a capacity for education. And yet, according to good authorities, several Catholic bishops have been negroes, one of whom was canonized as a saint at Rome; and a negro was ordained as a priest of the Episcopal Church of England, by Bishop Keppell, at Exeter, in 1765. Instances of hundreds of intelligent and educated free negroes are found in the north; Hayti is governed entirely by educated blacks; and even at the colony of Liberia, founded chiefly by the slaveholders of America themselves, a public newspaper is written and printed by negroes, schools are conducted, and public worship is carried on, as well as in any part of the Union. The pretence of the incapacity of the negro race to receive instruction, must, therefore, be known to many who use it, to be a false one.

The great plea for the continuance of slavery, in this quarter, is, however, that the slaves are wholly unable to maintain and protect themselves, and that it is pure humanity towards the race to keep them in this condition. And yet, so well able are the greatest number of negroes to earn their own subsistence, and conduct their own affairs, that many of them are hired out by their masters to various persons needing

their labour ; by which they get so much more than is necessary for their own support, that they maintain themselves out of their wages first, and then hand over the surplus, often amounting to half their earnings, to their masters, as interest or profit on the capital laid out in their purchase. One master mentioned to me his having given 1500 dollars, or £300 sterling for a slave ; and when I asked why he paid so large a sum for him, he answered, that the man was fully worth it, because he could earn a handsome income. But when I followed up this question by asking whether the income made by the slave's labour and skill were given to *himself*, the master replied, without being apparently conscious of the wrong, "Oh, no ! his earnings belong to *me*, because I bought him ; and in return for this I give him maintenance, and make a handsome profit besides." It is in this way that the increase of slaves by breeding, as in Sir Roger de Coverley's plantation, adds to a planter's income ; but if the slave were free, the earnings would be his own, while now they are taken from him ; and if this be not a violation of the scriptural maxim that "the labourer is worthy of his hire," it is difficult to know what would be so.

On this subject, however, the prejudices of the southern people are as inveterate as those of the inhabitants of China or Hindoostan in favour of their ancient customs and superstitions ; or as those of certain classes in England, on subjects in which their own personal and pecuniary interests completely blind their judgments.

CHAP. V.

Climate of Charleston—Statistics of health—Culture and manufacture of silk in the southern states—Population of Charleston, free and slaves—Classes, occupations, and character of the whites—Personal appearance and manners—Ancient reputation of South Carolina—Literary taste more prevalent than in the north—Library of Charleston—No divorce ever granted by this State—Early encouragement of Indian intermarriages—Peculiar attention paid to funerals—Literary, religious, and benevolent societies—Public meeting on behalf of seamen.

THE climate of Charleston has been usually considered unhealthy: for it is certain, that in the low country surrounding it, no white person can sleep, during the summer months, without taking the country fever, one of the most malignant type, and most generally fatal; while in the city itself, nearly all the strangers, or new-comers, are subject to the ordinary fever in the autumn, and even natives of the city, if absent for a few years, become as liable to this fever as strangers. A medical gentleman, however, Dr. Logan, in an elaborate article on the climate of Charleston, published in the Southern Literary Journal, makes this bold assertion, that "Charleston, in spite of the exaggerated account of its hot climate, and the sad catalogue of its diseases recorded by Dr. Chalmers, is *decidedly one of the healthiest cities on the face of the globe.*" This assertion is supported, however, by an array of facts and figures, which are sufficiently curious and interesting to be presented to the view of those who may

desire to be informed on the subject ; and therefore the following passages from this treatise are transcribed :—

“ Situated in the latitude of $32^{\circ} 47' N.$ and longitude $80^{\circ} 00' 52'' W.$ from Greenwich, and spreading out on a large plain, with the sea open to it in front, and laved by the waters of two spacious rivers on either side, it possesses the most eligible location for a city, and a climate unsurpassed for an agreeable medium between heat and cold, by any city on our southern frontier. Having numerous streets running in straight lines from east to west, and extending from river to river, the best natural means are afforded for draining, which have been judiciously improved by the addition of subterranean drains, through which most of the tide-water flows, so that every nuisance is thoroughly washed out, and the city thus kept free from all impurities. In the rivers Ashley and Cooper, which almost entirely surround the city, rendering it a peninsula, the water is decidedly salt, partaking of all the properties of sea-water as high up as fifteen, and, during droughts, of twenty miles from their mouths. Between these rivers, the ground, for a circumference of twenty miles in the country, is not ten feet higher, at a medium, than the full sea at spring-tides, and the peninsula of Charleston is not seven feet above high-water mark.

“ The atmospherical vicissitudes of our city are, nevertheless, sometimes sudden and considerable, although much less so than formerly ; for we find that in 1752, as great a difference as 83° on different days of the same year, actually occurred ; and frequent instances are on record in which the thermometer fell 50° in less than fifteen hours. Since the year 1751, in which Dr. Chalmers mentions a difference of 46° in the course of sixteen hours, we find no very uncommon fall of the thermometer on record, until the 27th of April, 1813, when there suddenly occurred a difference of 44° in the course of a few hours. In 1819, Dr. Shecut again records a sudden fall in the thermometer of 33° in the course of twelve hours. Such great variations are not now so common as formerly.

“ But the most salutary and perceptible change is in the remarkable diminution of the summer heat. In 1752, the ther-

mometer rose from 90° to 101° in the shade, and 120° in the sun; and Dr. Chalmers states, that in the same year, the thermometer of Fahrenheit stood, in the coolest part of his kitchen, at 115°. By comparing the degrees of heat for the ten years recorded by Dr. Chalmers, from 1750 to 1759, with those of the ten years recorded by Dr. Shecut, from 1809 to 1818, at half a century apart, the result will be a proof of the increasing mildness of the temperature of Charleston. The average of the mean heat of the former years was 68°, and that of the latter only 60°."

The following table is compiled from the writings of Hewat, Chalmers, Shecut, and the Report of the Board of Health, showing the comparative temperature of Charleston, from the years 1738 to 1836—nearly a century:—

Years.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Range.
1738 to 1742	101°	17°	84°
1750 to 1759	101	18	83
1822 to 1825	92	19	73
1833 to 1836	94	5	89

This diminution of extreme heat is attributed to the clearing of woods, draining of swamps, and other acts of cultivation, as has been the case in China, according to the observations of Dr. Lind. In a comparison of the proportion of deaths to population, in the different cities of the world, Charleston bears a higher rank in salubrity than any, except London, Petersburg, and Geneva, though not quite so high as Dr. Logan would assign it, when he calls it "one of the healthiest cities on the globe." The salubrity of all great cities has much increased with increasing medical skill, and knowledge of the laws of health, as well as greater attention to cleanliness and comfort in the modes of life, in the quantity and quality of food and raiment, ventilation, &c., all of which have

had their share in improving the general health and longevity of the inhabitants of great cities. The following table exhibits the proportions of deaths to population at the periods named :—

London . . .	in 1690, 1 in 24	—	in 1828, 1 in 55
Petersburgh, .	1761, 1 in 28	—	1828, 1 in 48
Geneva . . .	1560, 1 in 18	—	1821, 1 in 43
Berlin . . .	1765, 1 in 28	—	1827, 1 in 34
Paris . . .	1650, 1 in 25	—	1829, 1 in 32
Rome . . .	1721, 1 in 21	—	1828, 1 in 31
Amsterdam . .	1770, 1 in 25	—	1828, 1 in 29
Stockholm . .	1763, 1 in 19	—	1827, 1 in 26
Vienna . . .	1750, 1 in 20	—	1821, 1 in 25
Charleston . .	1738, 1 in 37	—	1835, 1 in 45½

By which it appears that Charleston ranks higher than it has hitherto been the custom to regard her, on the score of general healthiness of climate ; though there are great drawbacks to this in the years when yellow fever comes ; which, however, like the great summer heats, seems gradually extending the intervals between the periods of its return, and may possibly, at some future time, disappear altogether. The deaths by yellow fever are stated as follows in the years mentioned :—

In 1817 .	268	in 1827 .	63	in 1834 .	49
1824 .	236	in 1828 .	26	in 1838 .	356

The fever of the last year is considered, however, to be an exception to the ordinary state of things, and to have been produced by the exposure of the large surface of drains, cisterns, and domestic impurities, occasioned by the destruction of all the upper parts of the dwellings in the great fire, leaving their

lower parts open to the influence of the hot summer sun. The following is the latest official report on the subject :—

“ Mortality in Charleston.—The whole number of deaths in the city of Charleston, during 1838, was 1,209 :—white males, 551 ; white females, 158 ; black males, 277 ; females, 223. Of this number there were 37 from 70 to 80 years of age ; 20 from 80 to 90 ; 10 from 90 to 100 ; and 2 from 110 to 120. Consumption, 107 ; yellow fever, 354, stroke of the sun, 6. The population is 30,289.’

At the season of the year in which we had the pleasure of being at Charleston, January and February, 1839, nothing could be more agreeable than the temperature, nothing more healthy than the climate. The thermometer was usually from 50° to 60° in the daytime, and rarely below 40° at the coolest part of the night. There was occasional rain, but neither frost nor snow ; and the bright sun was deliciously warm and pleasurable in the open air. We enjoyed this the more, perhaps, from having, by our coming here, escaped the excessive cold of the North ; for, in addition to the violent gales and floods that had committed such ravages at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, since our arrival here, we gathered the following particulars respecting the temperature at the North since we quitted it :—

“ Severe cold at the North.—The Albany Argus states, that on Wednesday last, the thermometer, at seven o'clock, A. M. stood at twenty-two degrees above zero, and in two hours and a half thereafter had fallen to zero ! From that time the mercury continued to fall, but more gradually, and at eight o'clock, P. M. stood at eight degrees below zero ! There was a keen and violent wind from the north-west through the whole day.”

“The following day appears to have been much colder, according to the annexed report of the temperature, which we find in the New York Commercial Advertiser ;—

At Saratoga Spa, Jan. 24, 7 A. M.	33	below zero.
Balston Spa „ 7 „ 33 „		
Albany, . „ 6½ „ 14 „		
Boston, . „ 7 „ 14 „		
Charlestown, near Boston,	10	„
Chelsea, „ 8 A. M.	7	„
Dorchester, 6 „ 15 „		

During our stay at Charleston, we had an opportunity of learning some useful information respecting the recent introduction of the culture of silk in various parts of the country, for which the soil and climate are admirably adapted, but especially in the southern states of Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. The following article on this subject appeared in one of the Charleston papers during our stay there :—

“Attention is solicited to the following notice, copied from the Augusta Constitutionalist. Mr. Olmsted, the gentleman therein mentioned, is now in this city, but will leave it to-day. Zealous, however, to diffuse information upon the important subject to which he has so long given his especial attention, he will attend at Stewart’s Carolina hotel, between the hours of 11 A.M. and 2 P.M., to give the benefit of his experience to all who may call upon him, to inquire into the history of the experiment of the Silk culture in Connecticut, which has been attended with such successful results. There is no doubt, from past experience, and from the known advantage of climate, that an experiment in making silk, which can be followed by even moderate success, so far north as Connecticut, cannot fail, with half the attention, to succeed entirely in Carolina and other southern States.

‘*Silk Culture*.—An interesting article on the silk culture will be found in this day’s paper, taken from the Richmond Enquirer.

If that important culture has attracted much attention in the North, certainly in the South, where the climate is better adapted to that branch of agriculture, a greater interest should be taken in its improvement. That the people of the north can raise and manufacture silk to great advantage, we had ocular proof on Tuesday last, in company with a number of our citizens, at the Eagle and Phoenix hotel. Mr. Olmsted, a gentleman from East Hartford, Connecticut, who has devoted much of his attention to the subject, and who is now on a visit to the South, was kind enough to exhibit to us a number of samples of sewing, twist, and raw silk, of various colours, which will bear a comparison with any of the same kind imported, and which was raised and manufactured on his own farm, during the past year, by Mr. J. Danforth. The samples exhibited to us were parts of the product of an eighth of an acre of ground, planted as an experiment. We were informed by Mr. Olmsted, that the trees from which the worms were fed were planted between the 15th and 20th of May last, in rows of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, on land cultivated the preceding year, and of a sandy loam, ploughed up about the middle of September, at the rate of 20,000 an hour. He commenced gathering the leaves and feeding about the 10th of July. The quantity of leaves gathered amounted to 1194 lbs. The quantity of silk-worms fed, 32,000; and the quantity of cocoons produced nine bushels, yielding nine pounds of silk, waste silk and floss one pound. About 5000 of the worms were fed on 180 lbs. of leaves, and the product of them was two bushels of cocoons, or two pounds of silk. This establishes the fact, that 90 lbs. of leaves of the *Morus Multicaulus* are sufficient to produce one pound of silk. He commenced plucking the leaves when the trees were four and five feet high, leaving four leaves at the top of the tree. He thinks the products of an eighth of an acre would have been more than 1200 lbs. of leaves; but being short of worms, he had use for no more than 1164 lbs. If we take the estimate of 1200 lbs. of leaves to the eighth of an acre, as a basis, the product of an acre would be over 100 lbs. of silk; but allowing even 100 lbs. to the acre, the silk, manufactured in sewing-silk, being worth ten dollars per pound, the produce of one acre of land would be 1000 dollars, besides multiplying the trees for market."

The exhibition taking place at the hotel at which we were staying, I attended it; and I thought the specimens, both of raw and manufactured silk, of which there were various kinds, quite equal to any that I had seen in Europe. If this be the result in the very infancy of the undertaking, there can be very little doubt that the culture and manufacture of silk will, in a few years, become a most important branch of domestic industry in the United States; the more so, as it can be cultivated in all the States, from Maine to Louisiana, whereas the present chief staple, cotton, can only be grown in the warm region south of the Potomac. Already, it is said that nine of the States have offered premiums for encouraging the culture of silk, and others will probably soon follow.

The population of Charleston city was, by the last decennial census of 1830, returned at 30,289; the Neck, which adjoins it, though beyond the city boundary, contained 10,054; and the whole district of Charleston has 86,338. The proportions of this population are at present estimated to be about one-half white and one-half coloured, including slaves and free. This proportion applies to the city population only; as in the entire State the coloured persons exceed the whites; the whole population, in 1830, being 581,458, in the following classes:—

White Males, 130,590	Slaves, Males, 165,625	FreeColoured Males, 3,672
White Females, 127,273	Slaves, Females, 160,040	FreeColoured Females, 4,249

The white population of Charleston are chiefly engaged in trade and commerce, though there appears to be a larger proportion of professional men, clergy, lawyers, and physicians, mingled with these, than in

the northern cities ; and even the merchants have a more liberal education, and more gentlemanly deportment, than is general with the same classes in the north. The native Southerners are easily distinguished from the New England settlers, and from other foreigners, by their brunette complexions, black eyes, and black hair. There is a sort of dandyism, in the dress of the young men especially, which is peculiarly southern : short frock-coats, small black stocks, rounded shirt-collars, turned down outside the stock to give coolness to the neck, hair or beard under the throat, low-crowned and broad-brimmed white felt hats, and walking-sticks, are among the most striking parts of the costume. The women are, in general, handsomer, more graceful, and more ladylike, than those of the same classes in the north ; and the style of living with both is on a more sumptuous and liberal scale than in the northern cities ; while they continue to sustain the ancient reputation of Carolina for “ the hospitality of her sons, and the intelligence and influence of her daughters.”

The descriptions given of the State in 1764, by Grahame, from the best authorities of that day, would equally apply to Charleston, at least, in the present. He says, “ South Carolina, which had continued to advance in growth, notwithstanding the pressure of the war, reaped an ample and immediate share of the advantages resulting from the peace of Paris. ‘ It has been remarked,’ says the historian Hewit, at this period, ‘ that there are more persons possessed of between five and ten thousand pounds sterling, in South Carolina, than are to be found anywhere else among the same number of people.

In point of rank, all men regard their neighbours as their equals, and, a noble spirit of benevolence pervades the society. The planters were generally distinguished by their hospitable dispositions, their sociable manners, and the luxurious cheer of their tables. Almost every family kept a one-horse chaise, and some maintained the most splendid equipages that Britain could furnish. All the new literary publications in London were regularly transmitted to the province. Hunting and horse-racing were favourite amusements of the men—assemblies, concerts, balls, and plays, were common. ‘It is acknowledged by all,’ says Hewit, ‘but especially by strangers, that the ladies in this province considerably outshine the men ; they are not only sensible, discreet, and virtuous, but also adorned with most of those polite and elegant accomplishments becoming their sex ;’ a praise, which was justified in a very remarkable manner in the year 1780, when the courageous patriotism and inflexible fortitude of the women of South Carolina restored the expiring cause of liberty in the province.”

At present there is the same hospitality and generosity among the men, and the same elegance and politeness of manner among the women ; but balls and concerts are now very rare, and the only theatre here is not much frequented, at least by the higher classes of society, its chief supporters being strangers, and persons below the middle rank of life ; which is the case, indeed, throughout the United States generally. A taste for literature is more prevalent here, however, than in most of the American cities ; and there appeared to me to be a much more general

acquaintance with the popular writers of Europe among the society of Charleston than in that of Boston, with less of pretension. The library of the city is much resorted to by all classes, and it contains an excellent collection of the best works of the last and present century, exceeding 15,000 volumes. Attached to the library is also a museum of natural history, in which are collected a number of interesting objects, the inspection of which afforded me several days' agreeable and instructive occupation.

Among other facts communicated to me during my stay here, I learnt that there had never yet been a divorce granted, either by the judiciary, or the legislature of this State, though one of the oldest in the Union. There is no law against granting divorces, nor have there been wanting many applications for them, and some strongly supported; but the general feeling of the legislature and bench has been, that it is better for a few to be denied this release from uncongenial alliances, than that a door should be opened for the too frequent separations of those who are once united. The effect of this is said to be to produce greater care and caution in the formation of marriage unions; and if so, society is greatly benefitted thereby.

Before the revolution there was one British governor, at least, who appeared to have taken great pains to promote intermarriages between the native Indians and British or American females. Sir William Johnson is said by Grahame, on the authority of the Annual Register for 1766, to have "cultivated the good-will of the Indian tribes by the respect which he showed for their manners and usages, and studied to promote their friendly coalition with the British

colonists, by encouraging the intermarriages of the two races. His exertions appear to have been attended with some success; for we find that in the year 1766, no fewer than eighteen marriages were contracted, under his auspices, between Indian chiefs and young white women of South Carolina." This was at least a more humane mode of subjecting the Indians to British influence, than the horrid attempt made only two years before, in this quarter, when, according to the same authority, "there was despatched from England to America a pack of bloodhounds, by whose peculiar instinct it was expected that the British troops would be materially aided in discovering the tracks and retreats of their Indian foes."

From conversations with the clergy here, I learnt that their duty was considered to be much increased by the great formalities attending funerals, and by the practice, which custom has rendered necessary, of their being called upon to preach funeral sermons on the death of almost every individual of respectability, whether holding any public office, or distinguished by any particular traits of character, or not. It is remarkable, that this practice of giving publicity and importance to funerals should have always been more general in the colonies than in the mother-country; it may have arisen probably from the fact that the settlers dying away from their homes, their surviving relatives enjoyed more of the sympathies of their neighbours, and they manifested this sympathy by assisting to swell the attendance at their funerals; as well as from the very intimate and general acquaintance of all the members of colonial communities with each other; the general equality of their condition,

and the similarity of their pursuits, occasioning this intimacy and acquaintance between all the resident families of the same settlement or city. Be the cause what it may, the fact is undoubted. Grahame says, in reference to this subject, "It was noted, from an early period, as a peculiarity in the manners of the North American colonists, that their funerals were conducted with a degree of pomp and expense unknown to the contemporary practice of Europe. The costliness of funerals in New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, in particular, has been remarked by various writers. The legislature of Massachusetts, in the year 1724, enacted a law for restraining this vain and unreasonable prodigality; and especially prohibiting, under a penalty of £20, the common practice of presenting a scarf to every guest who attended a funeral. Philosophic men, in others of the provinces, laboured with more zeal than success to recommend a similar reformation to their fellow-citizens. In none of the colonies was greater expense incurred or magnificence displayed at funerals, than in South Carolina, where the interment of the dead was generally combined with a sumptuous banquet and good cheer for the living, which induced Winterbotham to remark, that the Scripture observation, 'It is better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of feasting' is unintelligible, and wholly inapplicable to South Carolina, as it is there difficult to distinguish the one from the other."

While the dead, however, have their full share of honour and respect, and perhaps rather more than their due portion of expense bestowed on their interment, the living are not neglected; and Charleston

might perhaps challenge any city in the world, of a similar population to its own, not more than 12,000 whites of all ages, to produce a longer list of societies and institutions for the promotion of literature, useful knowledge, religion, and benevolence. The following are among the number :—

St. Andrew's Society.
 South Carolina Society.
 Fellowship Society.
 Episcopal Clergy Society.
 German Friendly Society.
 Orphan House.
 Congregational Clergy Society.
 Hibernian Society.
 St. George's Society.
 Mechanic's Society
 Hebrew Orphan Society.
 Methodist Charitable Society.
 Charleston Bible Society.
 Society for Advocating Christianity.
 New England Society.
 Ladies' Benevolent Society.
 Baptist Missionary Society.
 Female Education Society.
 Charleston Marine Society.
 Marine Bible Society.
 Sunday School Union.
 Diocesan Sunday School Society.
 Female Domestic Mission Society.
 Episcopal Young Men's Mission Society.
 Typographical Society.
 Episcopal Female Domestic Mission Soc.
 Charleston Bethel Union.
 Methodist Missionary Society.
 Charleston Port Society.
 Baptist Female Mission Society.
 Methodist Female Association.
 Female Charitable Association.

Apprentices' Library Society.
 British and American Tract Society.
 Foreign Mission Society.
 Female Seamen's Friend Society.
 Female Bible Society.
 Methodist Bible and Tract Society.
 Female Episcopal Tract Society.
 Baptist General Tract Society.
 Windward Anchor Society.
 Young Men's Temperance Society.
 Young Men's Bible Society.
 Juvenile Foreign Mission Society.
 Reform Society of Israelites.
 Methodist Benevolent Society.
 Methodist Missionary Society.
 Methodist Tract Society.
 Young Men's Education Society.
 Typographical Association.
 Ancient Artillery Society.
 French Benevolent Society.
 St. Patrick Benevolent Society.
 Medical Society of South Carolina.
 Medical Society of the State.
 Literary and Philosophical Society.
 Deutschen Freundshafs.
 Charleston Library Society.
 South Carolina Association.
 Chamber of Commerce.
 Agricultural Society.
 St. Cecilia Musical Society.
 Young Men's Debating Society.

During my stay at Charleston, I was solicited by the directors of the Charleston Port Society to deliver a public address in support of their object, which was to better the condition and improve the morals and character of the seamen frequenting their port, by all suitable means—which I cheerfully consented to do ; and at the close of the public lectures which were delivered in the First Presbyterian church, to audiences generally exceeding 1,000 in number each, such an address was accordingly delivered. It was

attended by nearly all the respectable merchants and shipowners of the city. From the statistics furnished on this occasion, it appeared that the Port Society of Charleston had been established for upwards of twenty years, and is wholly supported by voluntary contributions. It had recently established a Temperance Boarding House, which was maintained by its own income, assisted by the efforts of the Ladies' Seaman's Friend Society ; and during the year ending on the 20th of March last, it had accommodated upwards of 300 seamen ; and since that date to the present time it had received 280. This, however, proved but a small portion of the whole number to be provided for ; as the seamen frequenting the port of Charleston in the course of a single year was estimated at not less than 7,000, though not more than 500 of these belonged to vessels registered in the port. This very circumstance of their having no permanent home or abode, made it the more desirable to establish one for their accommodation ; and accordingly, after showing the nature and extent of their claims on the sympathy and protection of the community, and pointing out the benefits that would result from these claims being answered. I recommended the establishment here, as at New York, Boston, and New Bedford, of a "Sailor's Home," or permanent asylum, fitted in every suitable way for the reception of seamen, and furnished with all that could give them innocent enjoyment and pleasure, as well as comfortable subsistence. I suggested as the best and easiest, as well as a most just and most efficient, mode of raising the funds necessary

for such a building, the following plan :—First, to institute a voluntary tax or payment of some small sum on every bale of cotton and barrel of rice shipped from the port for a year ; secondly, to collect a small impost on the tonnage of the ships entering and leaving the port for a similar period ; thirdly, to invite annual subscriptions from the community for as long a period as they saw fit ; and fourthly, to solicit donations of a larger amount, from the opulent and benevolent members of the community.

The effect produced by this address was such as to surpass our most sanguine expectations. A handsome sum was raised at once by a general collection ; and on the following day a meeting was held of some of the principal merchants and shippers of the port, at which resolutions were passed, recommending the merchants to pay two cents per bale on all sea-island cotton, one cent per bale on all ordinary or upland cotton, and one cent per barrel on all rice, shipped from the port for the space of a year ; and to invite, at the same time, from the general community, subscriptions and donations in the manner proposed ; so that if this impulse should be followed up, there would be little room to doubt the complete success of the effort in providing a spacious and commodious “Home” for those “wanderers of the deep,” who are now the constant victims of the harpies that lie in wait for them on their arrival from every voyage, and who first intoxicate, then plunder, and then abandon them to their fate.

This closed my public labours at Charleston, our stay at which had been rendered more than usually

agreeable by a variety of concurrent causes. We had escaped from the rigours of the northern winter, and found the climate here delightful. Our letters of introduction had obtained us the acquaintance of some of the most agreeable families of the city, whose hospitalities and attentions were highly acceptable. My lectures were attended with larger audiences, in proportion to the population, than in any place in which they had yet been delivered in America; and after the two courses on Egypt and Palestine were concluded, a third course on the countries beyond the Jordan was solicited, and attended as largely as either of the two former. In no other city were they so faithfully reported, or their most prominent features so accurately portrayed as in this, by the zealous and able editor of the Charleston Courier; so that all things seemed to concur to produce for us the greatest amount of pleasure; and we therefore passed three most agreeable weeks in this hospitable city.

CHAP. VI.

Departure for Savannah—Character of the passage within the islands—Striking resemblance of Charleston to New York—Appearance of negroes on the plantations—Practice of stealing cattle for food—Contradictory statements as to the negro character—Vessel grounded in the mud for fourteen hours—Alligators, musquitoes—Insalubrity of the low lands—Pass Cockspur Island, and Port Royal or Beaufort—Arrival at Savannah, and reception there.

ON Friday, the 8th of February, we left Charleston for Savannah. We were attended to the steam-boat "William Seabrook," by a number of friends, whose expressions of regret at our departure, and hope of our meeting again, were more than usually ardent, and, as we had every reason to believe, sincere. We quitted the wharf about 11 o'clock in the forenoon. Our voyage was to be made by the inner passage, as it is called, for the purpose of touching at several small villages and plantations on our way, this steam-vessel being so occupied for the accommodation of the planters living near the route. All along the coast of North and South Carolina, as well as of Georgia and Florida, there are a number of small low islands, separated from the continent only by narrow arms of the sea, in the shape of creeks; and these mingling with branches of rivers, bays, and lakes afford a continuous chain of water-communication, within the island, at distances of from ten to fifty miles inland from the ocean. This series of islands is chiefly devoted to the cultivation

of the finer kinds of cotton, called, from the place of its growth, "Sea-Island cotton;" and as the plantations are numerous and the population considerable, the inner passage, between these islands and the main land, is more interesting to one who wishes to see the country, than the outer passage by the sea. We therefore preferred going by it, although I had been offered a passage for myself and family in the larger steam-vessel, the "Charleston," which was going round from hence, under the direction of General Hamilton on his way to Texas, to the government of which this steamer had been sold, and on her way she was to touch at the principal parts of Georgia and Florida.

As we passed from the Cooper river on the east of Charleston, round the extreme southern point of the town near the Battery, and up the Ashley river on the west, the aspect of the city was picturesque and animating; and its resemblance to New York, though on a smaller scale, extremely striking—the Cooper corresponding to the East river, along the wharfs of which were crowds of ships, the masts of all exhibiting their respective signal-flags; and the Ashley corresponding to the Hudson river, with the Battery, at the southern point between them. The structures of Fort Moultrie or Sullivan's Island, which defeated a large squadron of British ships, and a force under Sir Henry Clinton, in the war of the revolution; and of Fort Pinckney on a smaller island immediately opposite to the city, corresponding to the forts on Governor's Island and Bedlow's Island in the bay of New York, complete the resemblance; while the passage out to sea on the south is about the same distance as the Narrows from the Battery of the last-

named city; and both are admirably situated for navigation and commerce, though New York has the great advantage of a thickly-peopled country behind it, which Charleston does not yet possess.

Nearly opposite to the upper part of the city, on its western side, we passed out of the Ashley river into a narrow artificial cut, as the commencement of our inland passage: and though the steam-vessel drew only four feet water, we grounded several times in the short bends and sharp turnings of this narrow pass; yet, as it was a rising tide, we floated off again, and pursued our way. We soon got into broader passages and deeper water, and then again into narrower and shallower channels; and on each side of us were seen occasional plantations, with the dwellings of the planters, the huts of the negroes, and groups of these at their labours, ploughing and preparing the land. This appeared to be performed in an indolent, indifferent, and rudely imperfect manner; and, as far as outward indications could be a guide, there seemed as little of cheerfulness and comfort as the condition of the labourers might lead one to expect.

In the course of the afternoon we took in tow a long boat, rowed by twelve negroes, with a covered cabin, in which were two slaves in custody of a white sheriff's officer, conveying them to one of the judicial stations for trial. It appeared that an overseer, or driver, on a plantation, had been shot dead by a negro belonging to an adjoining estate, and these two men were taken up on suspicion, one as the perpetrator, and the other as an accomplice in the act. The reason assigned by our white inform-

ants on board for the murder was this:—They alleged that the negroes were often in the habit of stealing cattle from their masters' plantations, as well as from the neighbouring estates, and their overseer being a vigilant man, had often detected them; so that to remove him, and thus carry on their depredations unmolested, they had shot him with a rifle. I inquired what they did with the stolen cattle, when they escaped detection; and was informed that they killed them in secret for food, some using the flesh themselves, others exchanging it with other negroes for rice; and some being given to runaway negroes, who were often secretly sustained in this manner by their fellow-slaves, till they could get safely out of their hiding places, and effect their escape.

I ventured to remark, that this seemed to prove two things: first, that the negroes were not sufficiently fed, as they were willing to encounter the risk of death in stealing food for their own use; and secondly, that there must be great sympathy among them with their runaway brethren, to incur the risk of death, to supply them also with the means of subsistence. But the general opinion of those with whom I conversed seemed to be, that there was something in the African race which made them naturally incapable of moral improvement, and insensible to all notions of distinction between right and wrong.

I could not help observing, however, that the testimonies of the same persons differed very much according to the turn which the conversation took. When they spoke of the coercion employed towards the negroes, and endeavoured to justify the necessity of it, they were represented as “an indolent, worthless,

and ungrateful race, wholly incompetent to arouse themselves to voluntary labour by any adequate motive, and so ungrateful for favours received, that the better they were treated the worse they behaved." On the other hand, when it was lamented that they could not be elevated from their present condition, and made to feel the influence of hope for the future, and a desire to improve their circumstances, and bring up their children with some education, it was replied that "they were already as happy as persons could be, that they were perfectly contented with their condition, and on the whole a much better race without education than with, as they were now faithful, kind-hearted, and attached to their masters, whereas education would destroy all their natural virtues, and make them as vicious as the lower orders in other countries." Such were the contradictory statements which I heard, not from different persons, but from the same individuals.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, we entered one of the narrowest of the cuts communicating with the creeks and rivers between the islands, and close to the battle-ground of Stona, where a desperate conflict arose between the British and American forces during the revolutionary war. Here the steam-boat took the ground at the very top of high water, so that all hopes of getting her off again were vain, until the next return of the flood, when the night tide, being higher than that of the day, would probably float her through.

We remained here, therefore, through a tedious night; though there was much in our favour, to counterbalance this inconvenience; for the boat was

furnished with excellent accommodations : the table was better supplied than in most hotels on shore, the captain was a gentlemanly and attentive man, and the passengers, to the number of nearly 100, contained many intelligent and agreeable persons, so that the time was beguiled by varied and instructive conversation. During our stay in this creek, only one alligator was seen, though they abound here in the summer ; but at this season they are thought to be concealed in holes along the banks, in a state of torpidity. They are not dangerous to man, like the alligators of the tropics, but fly at the least sound or pursuit ; though they will sometimes stand at bay with a dog, and instances have been known of large alligators drawing a young dog into the water, but this is rare. Mosquitoes also abound here in the summer season ; and the whole region being one of marshy land, and often flooded, is extremely unhealthy from August to October, when few white persons remain here, and all intercourse by the inner passage is then suspended for the more healthy route by the open sea.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 9th, the water was found to be just high enough to float the vessel off the mud, though we had not three inches of depth to spare ; and we were obliged to propel the vessel to her utmost capacity of speed to get through this shallow cut while the high water continued. We continued our course through the same description of creeks and narrow passages, and with the same character of scenery on both sides ; the weather was however delicious, the thermometer being at 65°, the air fresh and balmy, like a fine

English day in June, though now in the early part of February, when the cold in the Chesapeake was so severe, as to close the navigation of that noble bay by the ice.

At sunrise of the second day we arrived at Edisto, a small village on the northern edge of the island of that name, one of the sea-islands devoted to the cultivation of cotton. And after receiving a supply of fire-wood, we proceeded on our way, with increasing breadth of water, and increasing interest of scenery from the greater variety and abundance of wood ; until, at sun-set we reached the town of Beaufort, or Port Royal, where we remained for an hour to discharge and take in freight and passengers.

This is a small place, inhabited chiefly by wealthy planters, and families in easy circumstances, who come here to reside at certain seasons of the year, for the sake of the sea-breezes, which blow through the inlet at the head of which it is situated, and is not at all a place of trade. Its population, white and coloured, does not exceed 1,000 persons. The most healthy spots along the coast are the dry sandy ridges near the sea ; and these preserve their salubrity throughout the summer and autumn ; while, within a mile of such positions, where moisture and decayed vegetation exist, the miasma produces a fever that is fatal to strangers, and very dangerous even to the natives of the soil, who leave these parts to the negroes and a few overseers on their estates.

At eight o'clock we left Beaufort, and at ten arrived at a place called Hilton Head, the opening of a broader passage, where we anchored for the night ; and getting under way at four in the morning, we

passed at daylight, a small fort and light-house, on Cockspur Island ; and at eight o'clock entered a stream called the Tybee, which led us soon into the Savannah river. After passing by a number of large ships anchored a few miles below the town, two or three only of which were American, and the greater number from London, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Cork, we reached the city of Savannah at ten o'clock, and hauling alongside the wharf, were soon furnished with conveyances to take us to the Pulaski Hotel, where we took up our abode.

We remained here a fortnight, and passed our time most agreeably. Having been favoured with many letters of introduction from Charleston, we were soon surrounded by a large circle of friends, and many of the principal families to whom we had no letters, were quite as cordial in the voluntary tender of their hospitalities. We attended several large parties, and many more small social circles, in each of which we found ourselves completely at home. We were taken to some of the pleasantest drives around the city, and to all the public institutions within it, while my two courses of lectures, which were very fully attended, that on Palestine in the Unitarian church, and that on Egypt in the Baptist church, brought us every day acquainted with new friends, not only among the residents of the city, but with persons from the interior passing through Savannah, on their way to other places, and many and urgent were the entreaties that I would visit the several towns from whence they came.

C H A P. VII.

Foundation, rise, and progress of Savannah—Visit of Sir Walter Raleigh and Governor Oglethorpe—Philanthropic design of the original colony—Oglethorpe's first treaty with the Indian chiefs—Visit of the warriors to the king of England—First code of laws framed for Georgia—Prohibition of rum, and of negro slavery—Emigration of Moravians—Voyage of John Wesley—Striking picture of their religious exercises—Emigration of Scottish highlanders to Darien—Foundation of Augusta—Moravian settlements—Testimony of Charles Wesley on the treatment of slaves—Visit of George Whitefield after John Wesley's return—Charter of Georgia surrendered to the crown—Character of her population at this period—Emigration of Quakers—Attack of the French and Americans on Savannah—Evacuation of the British—Surrender of the city—Progress of Georgia since that period—Statistics of her population and commerce—General description of the State—Geography—Productions—Government—Judiciary—Education—Religion—Banking and trade.

THE history of the foundation and progress of the State of Georgia may be more briefly told than that of the more northern provinces, though it is not without its incidents of public interest. It appears from Sir Walter Raleigh's Journal, corroborated by the testimony of the Indians, at the first settlement of Georgia, that long before its being taken possession of by the English, it had been visited by Sir Walter Raleigh, who sailed up the Savannah river, and landed and held a conference with some Indian chiefs on the very spot on which the city of Savannah now stands. The territory now forming the State of Georgia, was first included in the patent granted to South Carolina, of which the history has been already given; and it was then under a proprietary

government. In 1719, however, it became a royal territory, its limits being between the 31st and 36th degrees of latitude ; and it was not until 1732 that it was granted by charter to an incorporated company by George the Second, in honour of whom its present name of Georgia was given.

The circumstances which gave rise to this grant were of a mixed character. The possession of Florida by the Spaniards was a source of continual apprehension and difficulty to the settlers of South Carolina ; and it was thought desirable to interpose between these two a barrier State or province, and by peopling it with Europeans well armed and trained, to make it answer as an advanced post of defence. This was undoubtedly the first motive which led to the settling of Georgia. About the same period, however, that this was projected, a number of Englishmen, some animated by religious zeal, some by philanthropy, and some by patriotism, conceived the design of promoting the settlement of this then unoccupied region ; the religionists, to open an asylum for the persecuted Protestants of various countries in Europe ; the philanthropists, to secure a home for the many poor families in Britain, whose labour was inadequate to obtain them a decent subsistence ; and the patriots, to strengthen the British power, and extend its dominion over these distant lands.

It was in 1728, that General Oglethorpe, who may be called the founder of Georgia, being then a member of the British House of Commons, obtained its sanction to the appointment of a committee of inquiry into the state of the prisons in England. Of this committee he was nominated chairman ; and in

the following year it presented a report which induced the House to adopt measures for reforming some of the most prominent evils of the prison-system of discipline then existing. The illustrious Howard, in his philanthropic labours of examining the prisons of England, and exposing their abuses, had brought to light such facts as almost staggered belief, while they touched the sympathy of many benevolent hearts, and prepared the way for a great effort of reformation. A rich and humane citizen of London, having bequeathed his ample fortune for the express purpose of liberating as many insolvent debtors from prison as its amount would allow, some members of parliament undertook to visit the jails, and select the objects that seemed most worthy to be participators of this generous bequest. The difficulty of obtaining for these released debtors suitable and profitable employment when set free, was, however, much greater than the task of selecting them ; and it was partly to meet this difficulty, as well as to provide for the other objects named, that Oglethorpe and his benevolent associates conceived the plan of founding a new colony between South Carolina and Florida, and transporting to it as settlers as many of the poor and destitute thus released from their imprisonment, as could be prevailed upon to go, including as many others as their means of transport and settlement would admit.

In pursuance of this philanthropic design, application was made to the monarch, by Oglethorpe and his associates, for a charter of incorporation, which was readily granted, and the sum of £10,000 sterling was also obtained by a vote of the House of Commons, to be added to the private estate left by the

London merchant for the liberation of insolvent debtors. To this also was promised to be added the funds previously raised for Bishop Berkeley's college for instructing the Indians, but never appropriated. The Moravians, who in 1727 first proclaimed their intention of undertaking missionary labours on an extensive scale, hearing of this intended new colony, offered to unite a portion of their body with it ; so that the foundation thus appeared to be laid of a useful and prosperous settlement. The royal charter granted in 1732 ceded all the territory between the rivers Alatamaha and Savannah, as a separate and independent province, under the title of Georgia, to twenty-one noblemen and gentlemen under the title of "Trustees for settling and establishing the Colony of Georgia." Among these were the celebrated Lord Shaftesbury, author of "The Characteristics," Lords Percival, Tyrconnel, Limerick, and Carpenter, James Edward Oglethorpe, and Stephen Hales, an English clergyman, and one of the most distinguished natural philosophers of the day. These were entrusted with the powers of legislation for twenty-one years, after which the colony was to lapse to the crown, and be placed under such form of government as the monarch then reigning might determine.

The trustees being empowered to collect contributions from the public for assisting the first settlers, gave an example to others by their own liberality, which was imitated by many wealthy persons. The Bank of England gave a large donation ; and the House of Commons voted several sums, amounting in the whole to £36,000. Some silk-workers from

Piedmont, bringing with them a quantity of silkworms' eggs hatched in Italy, were engaged to accompany the first expedition ; as the cultivation of silk was one of the first objects intended to be put in practice. All being prepared for their departure, General Oglethorpe, placing himself at the head of the first body of emigrants, sailed from Gravesend with 116 persons, to found the colony proposed.

In January, 1733, they reached Charleston, where they received considerable assistance from the Carolinians. After a short stay there, they proceeded to the station then called Yamacran, where they planted their first settlement, and called it, from the name of the river on which it stood, Savannah. In the preliminary operations of felling trees, clearing the ground, and erecting dwellings, Oglethorpe himself joined with cheerfulness and zeal ; and in the intervals between this labour, he exercised his followers in military movements and discipline ; while steps were taken to establish a friendly relation with the Indians then residing here. By the assistance of an Indian female, the wife of a trader from Carolina, who could speak both the English and the Indian tongues, an invitation was conveyed from General Oglethorpe to all the Indian chiefs of the Creek tribe, to hold a conference with him at Savannah ; and they came readily, to the number of fifty warriors, at the time and place appointed. To these, the General represented the great power of the English nation, and pointed out the advantages that would result to the Indians from their friendship and alliance. He added, that as the Indians had much more land than they could occupy, he hoped they

would readily grant a portion of it to the people who had come from so great a distance to settle among them ; and in token of his good-will, he distributed various presents among the chiefs.

To this, the most aged warrior of the tribe, Tomochichi, replied, by giving the assent of himself and all his followers to the request made, while he in turn presented to General Oglethorpe, a buffalo's hide, on which were delineated, an eagle to represent speed, and a buffalo to represent strength, saying, "The English are as swift as the bird, and as strong as the beast ; since, like the first, they fly from the uttermost parts of the earth over the vast seas ; and, like the second, they are so strong that nothing can withstand them." He added, that the feathers of the eagle were soft, and signified love ; the buffalo's skin was warm, and signified protection ; and he hoped that the English would exemplify those attributes in loving and protecting the families of the Indians. He acknowledged that the Great Spirit, which dwelt in heaven and all around, had endowed the English with wisdom and riches, so that they wanted nothing ; while the same Power had lavished great territories on the Indians, who were still in want of everything. He added, that the Creeks would be quite willing to resign to the English, the lands that were useless to themselves, and permit the English to settle among them, so that they might be instructed in useful knowledge, and supplied with improved accommodations of life. A treaty was accordingly concluded by the Indians with the English ; rules for mutual traffic, and the adjustment of mutual disputes, were established ; all lands

then unoccupied by the Indians were assigned to the English, under the condition that the Indians should be previously apprized of the intended formation of every new township ; and they then promised, “with straight hearts, and love to their English brethren,” that they would allow no other race of white men to settle among them in the country.

After the conclusion of this treaty, the building of the dwellings and cultivation of the grounds went on rapidly ; and the settlers were soon joined by two successive arrivals of emigrants, the majority of whom were sent out and equipped at the cost of the trustees in England ; more than a hundred of the number, however, defrayed their own expenses. Having put the little colony in a state of defence, and deputed the direction of its affairs to two deputies, Scott and St. Julian, Oglethorpe made a voyage to England, to promote the interests of the settlement there. In this voyage he was accompanied by the Indian chief, Tomochichi, and his queen, with several of the warriors of their tribe. These were all received in England with great distinction, honoured with entertainments and presents, and introduced to the Court at Kensington.

On this occasion, Tomochichi, presenting some feathers of the eagle to his majesty George the Second, addressed him as follows :—“ This day I see the majesty of your face, and the greatness of your house, and the number of your people. I am come over, in my old days, for the good of the whole nation called the Creeks, to renew the peace they made long ago with the English. Though I cannot live to see any advantage to myself, I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the

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Creeks, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of the English. These are the feathers of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and flieth all round our nations. These feathers are a sign of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town there. We have brought them over, to leave them with you, O great king! as a token of everlasting peace. O great king! whatever words you shall say to me, I will faithfully tell them to all the kings of the Creek nations." The British monarch returned a gracious answer to this address, and assured the Indians of his protection and regard. After a stay of four months in England, the Indians returned to Georgia, accompanied by a new band of emigrants for the colony, and carried out with them the deepest impression of British intelligence, wealth, and power, to communicate to their red brethren of the forest.

The trustees in England now began to frame a code of laws for Georgia, and these were some of its most prominent enactments. It was provided that each tract of land granted to a settler should be held as a military fief, obliging the possessor to appear in arms whenever called upon for the public defence; and that no original tract should exceed fifty acres. In order to keep up the military hardihood and spirit, and to prevent a plurality of tracts coming, in process of time, into the same hands, and engendering wealth and habits of luxury, it was enacted that males only should succeed to the property of deceased parents; that women should be incompetent to inherit landed estate; and that in the failure of male heirs, the lands were to revert to the trustees as a lapsed fief, to be granted to other colonists on the original

terms. No inhabitant was to be allowed to quit the province without a license, to prevent fraudulent escape of traders dealing with the Indians. The importation of rum was disallowed; trade with the West Indies was declared unlawful; and negro slavery was absolutely prohibited.

The reasons assigned for this last enactment are sufficiently curious to be given in detail. They do not appear to have been founded on any notion of the injustice or inhumanity of slavery, but purely on prudential and selfish grounds. It was thought that the first cost of a negro would be at least £30, and this would exhaust so much of the capital of a poor settler, as to cripple his means in the very outset of his career. It was thought also that the white man, by having a negro slave, would be less disposed to labour himself, and that a great portion of his time would be employed in keeping the negro at work, and in watching against any danger which he or his family might apprehend from the slaves. It was believed that upon the admission of negroes, the wealthy planters would, as in other colonies, be induced to absent themselves to more pleasant places of residence, leaving the care of their plantations to negroes and overseers; and that the introduction of negroes would increase a propensity for idleness among the poor planters also, as well as their families, and thus entirely defeat the object of the settlement, which was to provide for and bring up a race of industrious and prosperous people.

These reasons, satisfactory as they may appear to some, as to the *inexpediency* of negro slavery in such a settlement, to say nothing of its *injustice* anywhere,

made no impression on either the Georgians or Carolinians ; the last, especially, were not slow to express their indignation and disgust at laws which indirectly cast so severe a censure on their own institutions. It was easy, of course, to find excuses for negro-slavery, as it is for any other injustice ; and accordingly it was alleged “ that it was indispensable to the prosperity of the settlement, because the strength of European constitutions, unaided by negro labour, could make no impression on the vast and stubborn forests by which they were surrounded.” Upon this Mr. Grahame very justly and forcibly remarks, that “ Europeans had now become so habituated to regard negroes as slaves, and to despise them as a servile and degraded race, that it never occurred, either to the trustees or the colonists, that, by an equitable intercourse and association between white men and negroes, the advantage of negro *labour* might be obtained, without the concomitant injustice of negro *slavery*.”

In 1735, General Oglethorpe returned from England to Georgia, accompanied by a small party of Moravians, who had accepted a grant of land for cultivation, and an exemption from military service, as, like the Quakers, they refused, on religious grounds, to engage in any war ; and like them, also, the preachers as well as the hearers were enjoined to obtain their own subsistence by their labours.

The celebrated John Wesley, and his brother Charles, also accompanied General Oglethorpe on this voyage, as well as several of their religious brethren ; and there were no less than three hundred passengers, including one hundred and seventy Ger-

mans of the Moravian society. Their voyage out was long and stormy, as they sailed in October, 1735, and did not arrive till February, 1736; but the manner in which they passed their time, shows that no inconveniences or privations could damp the ardour of the spirit by which they had been animated to undertake this perilous enterprise. The following extract from John Wesley's Private Journal will exhibit this:—

“Our common way of living was this:—from four of the morning till five, each of us used private prayer. From five to seven we read the Bible together, carefully comparing it (that we might not lean to our own understanding) with the writings of the earliest ages. At seven we breakfasted. At eight were the public prayers. From nine to twelve I usually learned German, and Mr. Delamotte, Greek. My brother writ sermons, and Mr. Ingham instructed the children. At twelve we met to give an account to one another of what we had done since our last meeting, and what we designed to do before our next. About one we dined. The time from dinner to four, we spent in reading to those of whom each of us had taken charge, or in speaking to them severally as need required. At four were the evening prayers, when either the second lesson was explained, or the children were catechized and instructed before the congregation. From five to six, we again used private prayer. From six to seven I read in our cabin to two or three of the English passengers, and each of my brethren to a few more in theirs. At seven I joined with the Germans in their public service; while Mr. Ingham was reading between the decks to as many as desired to hear. At eight we met again to exhort and instruct one another. Between nine and ten, we went to bed, where neither the roaring of the sea, nor the motion of the ship, could take away the refreshing sleep which God gave us.”

In the same Journal, he gives the following striking picture of the piety, resignation, and courage of the Moravians who had joined this expedition:—

“ In the midst of the psalm wherewith their service began, the sea broke over us, split the mainsail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English ; the Germans calmly sung on. I asked one of them afterwards, ‘ Was you not afraid ? ’ He answered calmly, ‘ I thank God, no. ’ I asked, ‘ But were not your women and children afraid ? ’ He replied mildly, ‘ No ; our women and children are not afraid to die. ’ ”

The importation of such a body of people as these into a colony originally planted by insolvent debtors, where, mingled with the poor and needy, were many desperate and reckless characters, could hardly fail to produce great benefits ; and such, indeed, was the result. About the same period there arrived also in the settlement, a hundred and fifty Highlanders from Scotland. These formed a small town on the river Alatomaha, which they called New Inverness. They also built a fort, which they called Darien, the name now borne by the town itself, which has grown up to be a considerable place. Here they continued to wear the Highland dress, and to preserve their national manners, as among their native mountains, and lived in a state of great industry, independence, and contentment.

The Wesleys, meanwhile, were stationed at Frederica and Savannah, at which they preached ; but the ministry of John Wesley, at the last named place, was so much more rigid than was acceptable to the colonists, that he was obliged to quit it in 1736 for England, where he soon after founded the great sect of the Wesleyan Methodists, that still bear and venerate his name.

Augusta, nearly 200 miles up the Savannah river,

was now begun to be built, and it and Frederica were fortified with artillery from England; but troubles multiplied thickly. War with the Spaniards of Florida threatened the Georgians on the one hand, and the discontent of the Carolinians menaced them on the other; while the dissatisfaction of the Georgians themselves with the restrictions placed on the importation of rum, in which their neighbours traded freely, and with the prohibition of employing negro slaves, which the people of Carolina did extensively, made them impatient and desirous of change.

The only two portions of the settlers who did not share in these discontents, were the Moravian Christians, and the Scotch Highlanders, each of whom pursued their industry, quietly, prosperously and happily. The former body had already made a plantation, which was a model of neatness, comfort, and successful husbandry; they had assisted their poorer and less industrious neighbours, and established a school and mission among the Creek Indians, with the most promising appearance of success. With indefatigable industry and charity they combined the most rigid sense of justice; and before another year had passed, they repaid to the Georgian trustees the money that had been advanced in London, to enable them to emigrate to America;—so that while the more indolent and dissolute of the early settlers clamoured against the prohibition of negro slavery, and declared that without this it was impossible to cultivate their lands or provide for their posterity, the Moravians silently demonstrated, by their successful industry, that slavery was unnecessary; and

the Scotch Highlanders, to their great honour, protested against it, as an *outrage on justice*.

Soon after this, in 1738, war was declared between Great Britain and Spain; and General Oglethorpe, who had in the interim revisited England, sailed for Georgia again, with a regiment of 600 men, and a commission as commander-in-chief of all the forces in South Carolina and Georgia, while the Parliament made an additional grant of £20,000 for military services, and authorized the allotment of twenty-five acres of land to every soldier of seven years' service.

Just at this period, the Spaniards had been successful in exciting the negro slaves of South Carolina to revolt, by proclaiming liberty and protection to all who should seek refuge from slavery in Florida; and the excessive cruelty with which the slaves were then treated in this colony, induced many to become fugitives, and others to take up arms against their masters. The Journal of Charles Wesley contains some striking instances of this; but one or two are selected out of many. He says, "Colonel Lynch cut off the legs of a poor negro, and he kills several of them every year by his barbarities. Mr. Hill, a dancing-master in Charleston, whipped a female slave so long that she fell down at his feet, in appearance dead; but when, by the help of a physician, she was so far recovered as to show some signs of life, he repeated the whipping with equal rigour, and concluded the punishment by dropping scalding wax upon her flesh: her only crime was overfilling a tea-cup! These horrid cruelties," he adds, "are the less to be wondered at, because the law itself, in effect, countenances and allows them to kill their

slaves, by the ridiculous penalty appointed for it. The penalty is about seven pounds, one-half of which is usually remitted if the criminal inform against himself."

This, it may be said, was under British rule, and in colonial times—which is perfectly true; and on Britain be the just reproach of such a state of things. But the same historian very truly adds, "Traces of the cruelty with which slaves were anciently treated in South Carolina have lingered, it must be confessed, till a very late period, both in the laws of this province, and in the manners of its inhabitants. In 1808, two negroes were actually burned alive over a slow fire in the market-place of Charleston; and in 1816, the grand jury reported, 'as a most serious evil, that instances of negro homicide were common within the city for many years; the parties exercising unlimited control, as masters and mistresses, indulging their cruel passions in the barbarous treatment of slaves, and therefore bringing on the community, the state, and the city, the contumely and reproach of the civilized world.'" Here are the facts, and this the language of the jurors of the city in which they occurred, resting on the good authority of Bristed and Warden, two writers of credit in their own country; and therefore the reproach is not confined to the age of British rule, or the days of colonial cruelty.

The dissatisfaction of the slaves in Carolina led many of them to fly to Florida, where a body of about 500 negroes was formed into a regiment, by the governor of that province, with black officers. These were all clothed in the usual Spanish uniform,

placed on a footing of equality with the white troops, and employed in the same warfare—a tolerable proof that the Spaniards did not doubt their *capacity*; while the people of Carolina and Georgia gave equal proof, by their alarms, how much they dreaded the *example*, not only of freedom, but of power, to their own slaves. Soon after this, in 1740, the celebrated George Whitefield visited Georgia, after the two Wesleys had left it. The first object of his mission was to preach the gospel to the Indians. He obtained a tract of land from the trustees, on which he built an orphan asylum, a few miles from Savannah, which was erected at great expense; but it has since been burnt down, and never rebuilt. During his stay here, he interested himself deeply in the amelioration of the condition of the slaves of the adjoining provinces; and one of his first publications in the colony was a letter addressed to the planters of Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, on the cruelties inflicted on their negro slaves. At subsequent periods, during his long and frequent visits to America, he invariably advocated the interests of the negroes, and so successfully as to persuade a number of the planters to emancipate their slaves.

A succession of wars and skirmishes with Florida and the Indians followed, and in 1742 Oglethorpe left Georgia for England. He never after returned, though he lived to the age of 102, dying in 1785, and beholding the colony he had founded, separated from the mother-country and declared independent by the American revolution.

Ten years after Oglethorpe's retirement, the charter of Georgia was surrendered to the crown;

at which period, 1752, the whole exports from the colony did not exceed £10,000 of value annually.

A new provincial constitution was given to it by Great Britain; and negro-slavery, hitherto prohibited in Georgia, was forthwith introduced into it, under the *royal sanction*; the restrictions on the importation of rum were also removed. The habits of nearly all classes were at this time remarkably intemperate and extravagant; while hunting, racing, cock-fighting, pugilistic exercises, and gambling, were too common throughout every part of the colony; arising, no doubt, from the combined causes of, first, the number of idle and dissolute persons who were among the early settlers, including even many convicted felons; secondly, the use of slave-labour, which made the whites averse to industrious occupation; and thirdly, the free use of intoxicating drinks, and the consequences always resulting from this vicious indulgence.

A beneficial change was, however, subsequently introduced, by the infusion of a much better class of men, a large number of Quakers having emigrated to Georgia, under the conduct of Joseph Mattock, a public-spirited member of this religious body. This was under the government of Sir James Wright, whose wisdom and liberality were subjects of the highest commendation; and whose example, in the successful cultivation of his own estate, was followed by many then already settled in Georgia, and by others who were induced by this success to come out as new settlers. In 1752, as we have seen, the whole annual exports did not exceed £10,000 in value; in 1763, the exports consisted of rice,

indigo, corn, silk, skins, provisions, and timber, of the value of £27,000 ; and in 1773, the amount of staple commodities exported was £125,000.

We now approach the period of the American revolution, and find that on the 14th of July, 1774, a public meeting of the citizens of Georgia was held in Savannah for the purpose of considering what constitutional measures might be pursued to resist the arbitrary imposition of taxes on the American people by the British government. From this time onward, the people of Georgia took an active part in all measures to promote the revolution. In 1776, Savannah was attacked by the British, who were repulsed with some loss. In 1777, the first constituted Assembly met in Savannah with a Speaker and other officers, and authorized the raising and equipping a regular land-force. In 1778, another attack was made on Savannah by the naval forces under Sir Hyde Parker, and the military under General Howe ; who were then more successful, taking possession of this city, and marching on to Augusta, which they captured also.

In 1779, a French fleet, under Count d'Estaing, appeared off Savannah, containing 21 ships of the line, 8 frigates, and 5 sloops, with 5,000 men. The attack was fierce and long continued, and the defence was obstinate and successful. The number of the killed and wounded on both sides was considerable ; but in the end, the French fleet, and the allied army of the Americans that had joined them, were obliged to retire, and leave the British, under General Prevost, still in possession of the fort and city of Savannah. There they continued until 1783, when

the general peace between Great Britain and the United States was ratified; and Savannah being then evacuated by the British, all Georgia was given up to the American government. On this occasion there embarked from Savannah, between the 12th and 25th of July of that year, 1783, about 7,000 persons for various parts of the British possessions, among whom were 1,200 British regulars and loyalists, 500 women and children, 300 Indians, and 5,000 negroes; but a large number of persons attached to the British cause, having property and connexions in this country, continued to remain there, and became legally-constituted American citizens.

From that period up to the present time, Georgia has gone on progressively improving in the development of her resources, the building of cities and towns, and the formation of roads, canals, and steam-boat communication, as well as establishing institutions for the promotion of education; and the advance which it has made may be seen in the progressive increase of her population, and expansion of her exports and imports.

Population at different periods.

In 1749 . . 6,000	In 1800 . . 162,686	In 1820 . . 348,989
1790 . . 82,548	1810 . . 252,433	1830 . . 516,567

And of this last number, taken by the census of 1830, the following were the different classes and proportions:—

White Males, 153,236	Free Coloured Males, 1,256	Male Slaves, 108,946
White Females, 143,378	Free Coloured Females, 1,227	Females Slaves, 108,524

Deaf and Dumb, 147 : Blind, 143 : and Aliens, 86.

Shipments of Cotton and Rice.

The following tabular report, from the Savannah Commercial Register, made up from official documents, will show the extent of the exports from that port alone, in the two articles of cotton and rice, from the 1st of October, 1838, to the 15th of February, 1839 :—

PORTS EXPORTED TO, FEB. 15.	From Oct. 1st, 1838, to Feb. 15, 1839.		
	Sea Island.	Upland.	Rice.
Liverpool	421	41,341	
Other British Ports	150	1,721	650
Havre	51	5,498	563
Other French Ports . . . . .	. . . .	2,518	251
Other Foreign Ports . . . . .	. . . .	1,570	
West Indies . . . . .	. . . .	. . . .	2,314
New York	13	26,101	5,693
Philadelphia . . . . .	. . . .	3,954	140
Boston . . . . .	. . . .	9,552	1,087
Providence	98	1,612	14
Baltimore and Norfolk, &c. . . . .	. . . .	1,389	480
New Orleans &c. . . . .	. . . .	. . . .	1,239
Charleston	40	3,686	
Bales	773	98,942	12,436

The following table will show the comparative quantities of cotton exported from the several ports of the United States, within a limited period; by which it will be seen that Georgia greatly exceeds South Carolina in her export of that article, taking Charleston as the index of the one, and Savannah as the index of the other :—

Exported from — 1838				Same period last year.		
	Britain.	France.	Other Ports	Britain.	France.	Other Ports
N. Orleans, Feb. 9	58,597	45,018	3039	145,298	45,871	4731
Mobile, Feb. 9 .	32,302	9,422	1050	25,429	14,654	3574
Charleston, Feb. 8	27,679	20,234	8340	60,093	25,166	9319
Savannah, Feb. 15	43,833	8,067	1570	84,098	13,000	30
Virginia, Jan. 1	1,050	. . . .	104	4,309	3,000	200
New York, Jan. 30	11,488	10,916	591	29,464	11,098	5290
Other Ports, Jan. 19	2,550	1,334	. . .	19,144	. . .	60
Bales	177,499	94,998	14,697	367,835	112,789	23,204

The State of Georgia, as at present established, since the cession of the large tracts of land given up to the general government, to form the States of Alabama and Mississippi, N. of 31° , amounting to 100,000 square miles, is in length from N. to S. about 300 miles ; in breadth from E. to W. about 200 miles. It contains an area of about 60,000 square miles, or nearly 40 millions of acres ; its latitude being from 30° to 35° N., and its longitude from 80° to 86° W. Like the Carolinas, it has three distinct zones, or belts, of territory ; that on the sea-coast being low, and full of islands and creeks ; that in the centre being dry and sandy, or pine-barrens ; and the westernmost belt being hilly and mountainous, increasing in salubrity as you advance from the sea into the interior.

In this variety of soil and elevation the inhabitants find great advantage ; as cotton and rice are cultivated on the sea islands and the low and swampy flats near the coast ; while in the other parts of the country are produced tobacco, indigo, and fruits. Sugar, also, is raised in the southern section of the State, where the climate is almost tropical ; and there are grown excellent melons, with the orange, lemon, citron, olive, grape, fig, and pomegranate ; while apples, peaches, and plums are the production of the higher region. Among the trees, the live-oak, an evergreen, is most conspicuous, and cedar, red and white, firs or pines, hickory, and white oak, are the most common. The magnolia is seen in large trees in the woods, and flowers of great richness and variety abound in every garden.

The principal rivers are the Savannah, Altamaha, Ogeechee, Satilla, Ockmulgee, Oconee, St. Mary's, Flint, Chattahoochee, Tallapoossee, and Coosa. Some

mineral springs exist in the interior, and are now visited by invalids. Several fine cataracts, or falls, are spoken of in the western part of the State, and valuable gold mines have been lately brought into working; while iron and copper are also found in the mountains; and the making of wine, and the growing of silk, both from the common mulberry and the *morus multicaulis*, are beginning to be carried on as experiments, and with good hope of success.

The government of the State consists of a Governor, and two Houses of Legislature, which meet at Milledgeville, the legislative capital of the State, for a few months in the winter. The constitution of the State, and the election and term of office of its representatives and senators, differ in nothing from that of the other States generally. The governor has a salary of 3000 dollars, or £600 sterling, per annum; while the secretary of state, the comptroller-general, the treasurer, and the surveyor-general, have each only 2000 dollars. The judiciary is divided into ten circuits, with a judge for each circuit; their salaries being each 2100 dollars. These judges are appointed by the legislature for life, or during good behaviour. But there is an inferior court held in each county, composed of five justices, who are elected by the people every five years, and who serve without salary. There is, however, no court of errors, or tribunal of appeal from the decisions of any of the circuit courts, so that the judgment of each is final; and though several attempts have been made to establish such a court, public opinion seems to be against

it, from a conviction that increasing the number of courts and judges, only gives rise to increased litigation and increased expense to the suitors.

The maintenance of the poor is by a "poor-tax," levied on the inhabitants of each county in which any poor are found. But as the slave population perform almost all the laborious duties in agriculture, and as emigrants do not come here from Europe direct in any great numbers, the poor are so few that no returns are ever made of their numbers, or the cost of their subsistence.

Education is well provided for in Georgia. At Athens, in the interior of the State, is a college which has about 200 students. At Columbus, in the same State, is a female college, recently established, and containing an equal number of students; and in each county there is an academy for the higher branches of education. An act was passed, in January of the present year, to establish a general system of education by common schools, by which the academic and poor school funds are to be blended in one, and augmented by occasional grants from the State, to be applied to the promotion of education generally in all its branches. The whole of the schools, academies, and college, are under the superintendence of a board, called the *Senatus Academicus*, composed of the governor and senate of the State and fifteen trustees. These appoint a board of commissioners in each county, of which there are 39, to superintend the academy and common schools in each. In 1817, 200,000 dollars were appropriated by the State legislature, for the establishment of free-

schools, and there are now upwards of 100 academics in the State, besides common schools, increasing in number every year.

Religion is also well supported, and wholly by the voluntary system. There are upwards of 400 Baptist churches and 40,000 communicants. The Methodists have 80 ministers and about 30,000 members. The Presbyterians have 60 churches, the Episcopalians 6; and there are places of worship also for Universalists, Unitarians, Lutherans, Quakers, and Jews; but the last five are among the fewest in number of all the sects. The aggregate, however, makes nearly 600 churches to a population of 600,000 in round numbers; thus keeping up the usual ratio throughout the United States, of a place of worship to every 1000 inhabitants; a larger proportion, it is believed, than that of any other country on the globe; and itself, no doubt, a consequence of the larger proportion of schools and people educated, to the whole community, than anywhere else exists.

The banking capital of the State is considerable, exceeding, it is believed, at the present moment, ten millions of dollars. A large proportion of this, however, is employed in promoting internal improvement in railroads and canals; the result is, that these works are carried on with great vigour, and bid fair to place Georgia on a par with any of the northern States in these respects, within a few years from the present period.

CHAP. VIII.

Description of the city of Savannah—Plan of Savannah—Streets, squares, and public buildings—Private houses, shops, hotels—Churches—Monument to Pulaski—Population, white and coloured—Character and manners of private society—Public ball, social circles, hospitality—Ladies of Savannah—Union of piety and benevolence—Military spirit, volunteers, Washington's birth-day—Youths of the South, premature independence—Early marriages—Contrast of the Old and New World—Desirability of a better order of emigrants.

SAVANNAH, the principal city and sea-port of Georgia, is agreeably and advantageously situated; it was founded, and its plan laid out, by Governor Oglethorpe in 1733; and as his own description of the locality, and the reasons which induced him to select it, are remarkable for their clearness, and interesting from their precision, I transcribe them from an original letter of his writing, dated "From the camp near Savannah, the 10th of February, 1733," and addressed to the trustees who formed the proprietary government then in London.

"I gave you an account in my last of our arrival in Charleston. The governor and assembly have given us all possible encouragement. Our people arrived at Beaufort on the 20th of January, where I lodged them in some new barracks built for the soldiers, whilst I went myself to view the Savannah river. I fixed upon a healthy situation, about ten miles from the sea. The river here forms a half-moon, along the south side of which the banks are about forty feet high, and on the top a flat, which they call a bluff. The plain high ground extends into the country about five

or six miles, and along the river-side about a mile. Ships that draw twelve feet water can ride within ten yards of the bank. Upon the river-side, in the centre of this plain, I have laid out the town, opposite to which is an island of very rich pasturage, which I think should be kept for the trustees' cattle. The river is pretty wide, the water fresh, and from the key (quay) of the town you see its whole course to the sea, with the island of Tybee, which forms the mouth of the river. For about six miles up the river into the country, the landscape is very agreeable, the stream being wide, and bordered with woods on both sides. The whole people arrived here on the 1st of February; at night their tents were got up. Till the 10th, we were taken up in unloading and making a crane, which I then could not get finished, so I took off the hands; and set some to the fortification, and began to fell the woods. I have marked out the town and common; half of the former is already cleared, and the first house was begun yesterday in the afternoon."

It is not often, in the history of cities, that one can obtain such exact and minute information as this from the hands of their founders; but its very rarity increases its interest when it can be obtained, and therefore I venture to add the following, from a letter written soon after by the governor, dated February 20, 1733.

"Our people are all in perfect health; I chose the situation for the town upon an high ground, forty feet perpendicular above high-water mark; the soil dry and sandy, the water of the river fresh, and springs coming out of the side of the hill. I pitched upon this place, not only for the pleasantness of the situation, but because, from the above-mentioned and other signs, I thought it healthy; for it is sheltered from the western and southern winds by vast woods of pine-trees, many of which are an hundred, and few under seventy feet high. An Indian nation who knew the nature of this country chose the same spot for its healthiness."

The city is laid out with the greatest regularity, the streets running in parallel lines with the river

from east to west, and these crossed by others at right angles running north and south. Philadelphia itself is not more perfect in its symmetry than Savannah; and the latter has this advantage over the former, that there are no less than eighteen large squares, with grass-plats and trees, in the very heart of the city, disposed at equal distances from each other in the greatest order; while every principal street is lined on each side with rows of trees, and some of the broader streets have also an avenue of trees running down their centre. These trees are called by some, the Pride of India, and by others, the Pride of China; they give out a beautiful lilac flower in the spring. There are others also, as the live-oak, and the wild cherry, both evergreens, and, when in full foliage, their aspect and their shade must be delightful. Even now, in February, when this is written, the prospect up and down every street in the city, intersected as it is by squares and rows of trees, is peculiarly pleasing, and gives the whole the most rural appearance imaginable.

Along the bank of the river, and on the edge of the bluff on which the city stands, is a long and broad street, having its front to the water, and built only on one side. The part nearest the water is planted with rows of trees, having seats placed between; and this street, which is called "The Bay," is the principal resort for business. The counting-houses, warehouses, and best shops, are along this Bay; the Exchange and Post Office, as well as the city offices, are here; and underneath the bluff, or cliff, are the warehouses and wharfs, alongside which the vessels load with cotton, while the tops of their masts are a

little higher only than the level of the street, the height of the cliff from the water varying from forty to seventy feet.

The city is nearly oblong in shape its greatest length from east to west along the river's banks, being about 5,000 feet, and its depth inward from the river to the land, north and south, about 2,500 feet.

Every part of the town is level ; and the general breadth of the streets varies from 80 to 150 feet. This ensures a thorough ventilation, from whatever quarter the wind may blow ; and, with the fine shade of the trees around, makes it delightful to ride in ; but the whole surface is sand, often as loose and deep as in the Deserts of Arabia, and, after dry weather for any length of time, it is as heavy to walk on as the loosest sand on the sea-shore. It is never removed, so that none of the streets are paved ; but as the sand is heavy, there is not much fine dust blowing about in the air, though it adheres to the clothes of those who walk. The few side pavements that exist are of brick ; but a great portion of the streets are without side pavements at all ; and this increases the distaste for walking much in them, except after a heavy rain, when, instead of mud being created, as in other cities, the walking is much improved, by the sands being hardened and pressed together by the rains, while their absorption of all the moisture that falls, prevents exhalation, and makes the air dry, and the ground firm and compact.

The greater number of the dwelling-houses are built of wood, and painted white ; but there are many handsome and commodious brick buildings occupied

as private residences, and a few mansions, built by an English architect, Mr. Jay—son of the celebrated divine of that name at Bath—which are of beautiful architecture, of sumptuous interior, and combine as much of elegance and luxury as are to be found in any private dwellings in the country. The shops are in general small, and not well provided with goods, though some wholesale warehouses on an extensive scale are found. Of hotels, there are three, the City Hotel, the Mansion House, and the Pulaski ; but as they all belong to the same proprietor, there is no competition among them, and the usual consequences follow—great indifference, and most extravagant charges. The Pulaski, at which we stopped, was the best, and the dearest ;—our party of four, including my youngest son and a man-servant, costing, to board and lodge, without private sitting-rooms, ten dollars per day.

Of public buildings there are not many remarkable ones. The Exchange, Post Office, and City Offices, are all included in a large brick edifice on “The Bay,” surmounted by a tower, and from this is to be had the finest and most interesting view of the city. The Court House is a chaste building, of the Doric order, with portico and colonnade, near the centre of the town. The United States’ Bank, and the Bank of the State of Georgia, are two handsome edifices ; and these, with the Custom House, the Academy, the Theatre, the Public Market, the Arsenal, and the Jail, with some new barracks recently built for the United States’ troops, who are now employed in the Florida war, make up the sum of the public buildings of the city.

Of churches there are ten ; two Presbyterian, one Episcopal, one Methodist, one Baptist, one Roman Catholic, one Unitarian, one Lutheran, and two meeting-houses for coloured people, as well as a synagogue for the Jews, who are here as numerous and wealthy as at Charleston. Of these churches, there is but one that is very conspicuous, and this is the Independent-Presbyterian church, which is really a beautiful structure. It was built by the architect of the two fine churches at Providence, but is larger than either ; its spire is one of the loftiest, lightest, and most elegant that I had yet seen in the country ; its portico is chaste and well proportioned ; and its interior, for vastness, richness, and general beauty of effect, surpasses any place of worship that I remember to have seen in America. It cost 120,000 dollars, and is as substantial as it is elegant.

Of the public monuments there is one in the centre of Monument-square, being an obelisk of stone, on a raised pedestal, erected to the memory of Count Pulaski, a Polish noble, who, like his countryman Kosciusko, and Lafayette of France, took an active part in the war of the American revolution ; and receiving his death-wound in the attack on Savannah, when the fleet of France and army of the United States combined for that purpose, while it was in possession of the British, he died at sea, and was buried in the deep with martial honours.

Another monument is about to be erected in another of the public squares, to the memory of the numerous citizens of Savannah, who, during the last year, perished in the wreck of the steam-ship Pulaski. This vessel was blown up by the bursting

of her boilers, on a voyage from Savannah and Charleston to New York, whither she was conveying about 300 of the members of the most wealthy and influential families of these two cities, on their way to the springs of Saratoga, for health and pleasure, when upwards of 200 were consigned to a premature grave. There is scarcely a respectable family in Charleston or Savannah, that has not to mourn the loss of some friend or connexion by this afflicting event; and all parties have contributed to the erection of a very elegant monument, to commemorate their loss. The design is by a classical artist, Mr. Frazee, of New York; and when executed, it will be a great ornament to the city.

The population of Savannah is estimated to be at present 10,000, of whom about 5,000 are whites, and the remainder mostly slaves, though there are some free coloured people residing here. The white population are chiefly merchants, planters, bankers, and professional men; the laborious trades being all carried on by coloured persons, and nearly all the severe and menial labour is performed by slaves. Like the society of Charleston, this of Savannah is characterized by great elegance in all their deportment; the men are perfect gentlemen in their manners, and the women are accomplished ladies. A high sense of honour, and a freedom from all the little meannesses and tricks of trade, seem to prevail universally among the gentlemen, who are liberal, frank, and hospitable, without ostentation, or much pretence; while the ladies are not only well educated, but elegant in their manners, and mingle with the pleasures of the social circle, much of grace, and

dignity, blended with the greatest kindness and suavity.

The principal causes of this difference from the coldness, formality, and reserve of the north, is, no doubt, partly to be attributed to climate, partly to the different style of living, and a great deal to the circumstance, that as all persons of moderate fortunes live here upon a footing of equality with the wealthiest, there is not that straining after distinction, and the practice of various arts to obtain it, which prevail in cities where the aristocracy is composed of three or four grades, or castes, each anxious to outrival and overtop the other, which begets uneasiness, jealousy, suspicion, and an extraordinary degree of fastidiousness as to the acquaintances formed, the parties visited, and the guests entertained. The graceful ease and quiet elegance of the southern families, make their visitors feel that they are in the society of well-bred and recognized gentlemen and ladies; while in the north, the doubt and ambiguity as to relative rank and position, and the overstrained efforts to be thought genteel, make the stranger feel that he is in the presence of persons new to the sphere of polished society, and labouring under an excessive anxiety about the opinion of others, which makes them a burthen to themselves.

On the second day after our arrival at Savannah, there was a large party given by the gentlemen residing at the Pulaski House, to those families of the city from whom they had received civilities; and to this party, as strangers recently arrived, we were invited. The entire suite of rooms was devoted to

its reception, and there must have been from 300 to 400 persons present. The party was an extremely elegant one in every respect ; and we did not remark a single awkward or ill-bred person present. Among the ladies were a great number of very lovely faces, with the peculiarly animated expression of the southern women, in their dark eyes and hair, and soft Italian complexions. They appeared also more healthy, as well as more animated, than their northern countrywomen, and were in general dressed in better taste, less showily and less expensively, but with more simple elegance in form, and more chasteness in colour. A number of naval officers, in uniform, mingled in the party, and many gentlemen came in to town from the plantations to attend it. The dancing was good, the band was wholly formed of negroes, and the supper was in the most unexceptionable style. Altogether, it was one of the most brilliant parties I had seen in the country, and had as much of ease and elegance in it as could be seen in any party of similar numbers in London or Paris.

The social entertainments and family circles which we had the privilege of enjoying in Savannah, were extremely agreeable. As almost every family keeps a carriage, morning and evening visits are rarely interrupted by weather ; and, as great cordiality appears to exist among all the residents, so strangers who become known to one family, are speedily introduced to every other. Gentlemen have their convivial meetings at each others' houses, and enjoy their athletic sports in clubs ; one of which, the Quoit Club, I visited, and found a number of the members engaged in the healthy and vigorous exercise of

throwing the discus, in which both strength of arm and accuracy of sight was manifested. The game was played after dinner, commencing about three in the afternoon, and lasting till sunset. The ground was about half a mile from the town, under the shade of a cluster of fine trees. Wine and cigars were provided for the members and visitors ; and the use of both is so universal here, that I was the only visiter the members could remember since the club was formed, who had declined to partake of either. It should be added, however, that though wine is universally drank here, and champagne in abundance, of which the ladies partake as freely as the gentlemen, I saw no intemperance, in the *ordinary* acceptation of that term, or, in other words, no intoxication. Spirit-drinking has been long since discontinued by the gentry, though it was once as frequent as wine-drinking is now ; and when the Temperance Societies of the South shall take the high ground of entire abstinence from all intoxicating drinks, I have no doubt, that after a few years, wine-drinking will become as rare as spirit-drinking is at present.

The ladies of Savannah, though enjoying freely all the pleasures of elegant society, are not behind their countrywomen in the north, in the zeal with which they promote benevolent objects. An Orphan Asylum for the maintenance, education, and putting out to useful occupations, of orphans of both sexes, is chiefly maintained by ladies here ; they have also Sewing Societies, the members of which meet once a week at each others' houses, and occupy four or five hours in needlework, the produce of which is devoted to the support of benevolent objects at home, and

missionary exertions abroad ; they appeared to me religious without being fanatical, and pious without being puritanical ; thus blending elegant and innocent recreation, with charitable and philanthropic undertakings.

The military spirit seems to be as strong in this quarter as elsewhere, and men of all classes delight in military titles, and military displays. The principal banker and the principal bookseller of the city were both colonels ; the hotel-keeper was a major ; and captains abound in every class ; nor do they receive their titles on parade only, but in the everyday address of business and conversation. During our stay at Savannah, the anniversary of Washington's birth-day, February 22d, was celebrated by a military display ; and the companies that turned out on that occasion were well dressed, well disciplined, and had as perfectly martial an air as the National Guards of Paris, to which, both in uniform, stature, and general appearance, they bore a marked resemblance. During their exercises of the day, they fired at a target with rifles, and put in their balls with extraordinary skill. They are habituated to this practice, it is true, from their youth upward, for almost every boy of fourteen or fifteen has a horse and a rifle. Shooting matches are therefore frequent, and in deer-shooting they have almost daily opportunities of trying their aim ; as the wild deer are here so abundant that they are shot in the woods within a mile or two of the town ; and venison is therefore to be seen on almost every table.

The youths of both sexes appear to be brought up in less subjection to parental authority than in

England. The boys are educated chiefly at day-schools: between the hours of school-attendance they are under very little restraint, and do pretty nearly what they like; many carry sticks or canes with them, and some even affect the bravo, by carrying bowie-knives, but it is more for show than use. The young ladies being also educated at day-schools, or at home, have much greater liberty allowed them in the disposal of their time, and the arrangement and control of their visits, than girls of the same age in England. The consequence is, great precocity of manners in both sexes, and often very early marriages. The following is taken from the newspapers of Savannah, and from the *Augusta Sentinel*, of February 20, 1839 :—

“**MARRIED**—On the 7th inst., by the Rev. S. Gibson, Mr. Hiram Dill, aged 14, to Miss Margaret Ann Langley, aged 13 years, both of Greenville District, South Carolina.”

There are, however, few elopements, or seductions, and domestic infidelity is very rare; so that on the whole, married life appears to be quite as happy as in England; with this great advantage on the side of married life in America, namely, that almost all who marry are in easy circumstances as to fortune, or if not, they are sure to become so, if they exercise only ordinary prudence, because every kind of business is prosperous here, and labour of every description is handsomely rewarded; while in England, there are hundreds of newly-married persons who struggle on from month to month and year to year, with difficulties, arising from competition in the same branch of business, or the same professional career,

which no amount of industry or prudence will overcome, and from which nothing but extraordinary ability, powerful patronage, or that favourable combination of circumstances, called "good luck," will extricate them. The same persons, if they could be transplanted to almost any part of the United States, would not only live at ease for the present, but, by a very slight attention to economy, would be sure of laying up provision for the future ; and, above all, would be able to ensure to their children, however numerous, a good education, useful and well-paid employment, admission into good society, and every prospect of an elegant, if not an opulent retirement in old age:—prospects that are but dim and distant to the great majority of the struggling middle classes in England.

I have so often been struck with this since our residence in America, that I have thought it might be worth while to devise some plan by which the governments of the two countries might co-operate to promote the transfer, from various parts of Britain to the United States, not of the utterly destitute, as in the case of emigrants, but of people of small means, but good information, and high moral character among the middle classes. Both countries would benefit greatly by such an operation. England, by lessening the severity of that competition which makes all classes feel they are overstocked with labourers, and can only live by outbidding each other in the smallness of the remuneration they will consent to receive ; and America, by the infusion into her growing population, of a much better stock and race than the present emigrants generally are.

CHAP. IX.

Newspapers, instability of editors—Coloured population, comfort of domestic slaves—Visit to a rice plantation, condition of field slaves—Comparison of slavery and free domestic servitude—Anecdote of negro indolence and industry—Absconding slaves and rewards for their capture—Democratic papers most hostile to abolition—Anecdote of American sovereignty in the people—Public rebuke of female abolitionists—Speech of Mr. Clay against abolition—Opinions of different parties on this speech—Amusing peculiarity of American politicians—Excursion to Bonaventure, near Savannah—Public meeting for establishing a “Sailors’ Home”—Ladies’ meeting for promoting Indian and Chinese Missions.

THERE are two newspapers in Savannah, the *Daily Georgian*, a democratic print, and the *Daily Republican*, a whig journal. Neither of these are so remarkable for talent or circulation as the *Charleston Courier*; but, like the *Charleston papers*, they are untainted by the vituperative language and abusive style of too many of the papers of the north. A third paper was attempted while we were here, called the *Daily Telegraph*; and though we were only in Savannah a fortnight altogether, we were there long enough to witness its birth and death, for it lived only eight days, and then expired.

The newspapers of the south are much dearer than those at the north; the two established journals here, as well as those at *Charleston*, selling for 12½ cents, or sixpence sterling per copy, though neither of them are as large as the smallest evening

papers in England, and there are neither stamps, duty on paper, reporters, news collectors, or paid correspondents, as on an English paper of any reputation. A single editor, frequently without any assistant, writes the whole of the original matter, which rarely exceeds a single column, the rest of the pages being made up of compilations cut out from other papers ; and as three pages of standing advertisements are usually kept in the journals of largest circulation, there is only a single page of new matter to be set up daily ; so that the expense of getting up the whole is very inconsiderable.

Notwithstanding this, the greater number of the country papers in America are far from being profitable ; 1000 copies is considered a large circulation ; advertising, by the year, is very cheap, though the transient advertisements of the day are as dear as in the country papers of England, a dollar being the usual sum for the shortest. The great cause of embarrassment to newspaper proprietors, is the difficulty of obtaining payments from their subscribers, the amount being small to each individual, scattered over a great extent of country, and costing twice as much labour and expense to collect, as bills of any other kind, not from the inability of parties to pay, but from their indifference and negligence. The plan of obtaining payment in advance is sometimes resorted to, but this is not easy to be secured, from the want of confidence in their stability, as so many papers start with every prospect of success, and are relinquished either for want of means, or want of perseverance, or from something more lucrative having tempted the editor into other undertakings.

The condition of the coloured population, slave and free, excited in me the liveliest interest, as I was anxious to see and judge for myself on this much contested point. Here, as at Charleston, the greatest anxiety seemed to be manifested on all sides as to my opinions on slavery. With some few I could safely venture to let these be known ; as they were liberal enough to suppose that a man might, from conviction, be in favour of abolition, without designing any evil to the country ; but with the great bulk of the white population here, the name of an abolitionist was more terrible than that of an incendiary, a rebel, or a murderer, and to such it would have been useless to make any observations on the subject.

From all I could perceive or learn, the condition of the domestic servants, or slaves of the household, was quite as comfortable as that of servants in the middle ranks of life in England. They are generally well-fed, well-dressed, attentive, orderly, respectful, and easy to be governed, but more by kindness than by severity.

If the slaves of America were confined to household attendants, I have no doubt that their condition would be very far from miserable ; because the master and mistress of a family, and all the younger members of it, feel as natural a pride in having their personal attendants to look well in person and in dress, when slaves, as they do when their servants are free ; for the same reason as ladies or gentlemen in England like to have their livery servants handsome and well-dressed, and their carriage-horses sleek, glossy, well-fed, and caparisoned with handsome harness. But when slaves are employed in

field labour, as instruments of producing wealth, or when they are owned by one party, and hired out to another for wages to be received by the owner, then the case is very different, because the object is then, in each instance, to make as much money by them as possible, and turn them, as property, to the most profitable account ; so that the least expense in food and clothing, compatible with keeping them alive and in working condition, leaves the largest amount of gain ; and therefore their personal appearance is no more attended to than that of cart-horses or post-horses, as compared with the attention bestowed on the carriage-horses as a part of the family equipage.

We visited one of the rice plantations in the neighbourhood of Savannah, and saw the condition of the slaves on it with our own eyes. The estate was considered to be a valuable one, and under a fair condition of management, not among the best nor among the worst, but just such an average plantation as we wished to examine. The dwellings for the negroes were built of wood, ranged in rows of great uniformity, raised a little above the ground, each building containing two or more rooms, with a fire-place for two. We saw also the nursery for the children, and the sick-room or hospital for those who were hurt or diseased, and we had communication with the overseer, and several of the people, from both of whom we learnt the following facts, as to their routine of labour, food, and treatment.

The slaves are all up by daylight ; and every one who is able to work, from eight or nine years old and upwards, repair to their several departments of field-labour. They do not return to their houses

either to breakfast or dinner ; but have their food cooked for them in the field, by negroes appointed to that duty. They continue thus at work till dark, and then return to their dwellings. There is no holiday on Saturday afternoon, or any other time throughout the year, except a day or two at Christmas ; but from daylight to dark, every day except Sunday, they are at their labour. Their allowance of food consists of a peck, or two gallons, of Indian corn per week, half that quantity for working boys and girls, and a quarter for little children. This corn they are obliged to grind themselves, after their hours of labour are over ; and it is then boiled in water, and made into hominey, but without anything to eat with it, neither bread, rice, fish, meat, potatoes, or butter ; boiled corn and water only, and barely a sufficient quantity of this for subsistence.

Of clothes, the men and boys had a coarse woollen jacket and trousers once a year, without shirt or any other garment. This was their winter dress ; their summer apparel consists of a similar suit of jacket and trousers of the coarsest cotton cloth. Absence from work, or neglect of duty, was punished with stinted allowance, imprisonment, and flogging. A medical man visited the plantation occasionally, and medicines were administered by a negro woman called the sick-nurse. No instruction was allowed to be given in reading or writing, no games or recreations were provided, nor was there indeed any time to enjoy them if they were. Their lot was one of continued toil, from morning to night, uncheered even by the *hope* of any change, or prospect of improvement in condition.

In appearance, all the negroes that we saw looked insufficiently fed, most wretchedly clad, and miserably accommodated in their dwellings; for though the exteriors of their cottages were neat and uniform, being all placed in regular order and whitewashed, yet nothing could be more dirty, gloomy, and wretched than their interiors; and we agreed that the criminals in all the state-prisons of the country, that we had yet seen, were much better off in food, raiment, and accommodation, and much less severely worked, than those men, whose only crime was that they were of a darker colour than the race that held them in bondage.

It is constantly alleged here, that the condition of the field slaves, though confessedly inferior to that of the domestic attendants, is not worse than that of the labouring population of England; but though this is much worse than it ought to be, it is still greatly above the condition of the slave, even in a physical point of view; while in a moral and intellectual one, the superiority is still more marked. The slave can never be instructed—the law forbids his being taught to read or write, under the severest penalties. He cannot, therefore, ever receive much of moral or intellectual culture, neither can he hope in any way to rise from his present dependent condition; but an English peasant, manufacturer, or artisan, may be taught anything he has a disposition to learn, and may rise to independence at least, if not to opulence; while the *hope* of better days never abandons him, but sheds a ray of light on his path, and comfort around his heart, which the very condition of a slave renders it impossible that he should ever experience.

It is usual here also to say, that supposing the slaves were made free, they would be unable to maintain themselves, and would not work even for their own benefit, as they are incapable of voluntary exertion. Yet in the face of this often-repeated assertion, I learnt here the following facts, and from the same persons that so confidently insisted on the indolence and incapacity of the slaves—

A wealthy planter said to me, “I assure you that these negroes are the laziest creatures in the world, and would never work but by compulsion. Now, I have a fellow on my plantation, who for fourteen or fifteen days past has been complaining of rheumatism, and could not be brought to work for an hour; he was so ill, as he said, as to be unable. On Sunday last, I was walking on the bay, looking down the river, when who should I see but my rheumatic rascal, pulling up in his boat with some things to sell on his own account, the fellow having rowed a distance of fourteen or fifteen miles for a market.” I replied, “The reason is very plain: he was too ill to work for *you*, because he got nothing more by working than by being idle; but he was quite well enough to work for *himself*, because his labour was well rewarded.” “Egad!” said the planter, “but you have hit it; that is no doubt the cause of the difference.” I rejoined, “This is the whole solution of the question; no man will labour for another’s profit with the same zeal that he will for his own; and the difference between the indolent apprentice toiling for his master, and the active journeyman working for himself, is just the difference between the exertions of the slave and the free.” To this no reply was made.

I was further shown instances of coloured persons settled in the town, as carpenters, bricklayers, tailors, barbers, &c. who had acquired property, in materials of trade and houses, and managed their affairs with so much prudence as even to be getting rich, merely because they received the whole of the profits of their labour, instead of its being handed over to a master, who, after maintaining them, pockets the surplus as his own lawful profit.

Instances of hiring out negroes to work, not for their own benefit, but for that of their owners, are common ; and I select, from among a hundred such cases that came every day before the public eye, the following, taken from a single column of a Charleston newspaper, in succession—

“To be hired, three able-bodied experienced Boatmen. Inquire at this office.”

“To be hired, a Boy, a good House-servant, and capable of taking charge of horses. Apply at this office.”

“To hire, a likely Mulatto Boy, fifteen years old, accustomed to House Work. Apply at this office.”

“To hire, a Boy accustomed to waiting about House. Inquire at 43 Beaufain-street, opposite Coming.”

“To Master Tailors.—To hire by the year, at very low wages, a young Fellow who has served six years at the Tailoring Business. Apply at 112 Queen-st.”

“Nurse to hire. A young Wench, of good disposition. Also, two prime young Wenches. Apply at this office.”

These were all negroes, or coloured people, belonging to owners who hired them out to others, and received a profit from their labours, as interest of the capital laid out on their purchase. In the Savannah papers the following appeared—

"Negroes wanted.—The contractors upon the Brunswick and Alatomaha Canal, are desirous to hire a number of Prime Negro Men, from the 1st October next, for fifteen months, until the 1st January, 1840, or for any term within these dates, not less than twelve months. They will pay at the rate of Eighteen dollars per month for each prime hand. Payments to be made quarterly.

"These negroes will be employed in the excavation of the canal. They will be provided with three and a half pounds of pork, or bacon, and ten quarts of gourd-seed corn per week, lodged in comfortable shantees, and attended constantly by a skilful physician.

"As the Contractors are now making their arrangements for the work of the next year, all those who will be disposed to hire negroes for the coming season are requested to make immediate application, and obtain any further information that may be desired at the office of the contractors in Brunswick.

"J. H. COUPER,

"P. M. NIGHTINGALE."

It will be seen that there are two strong inducements offered here—high wages to tempt the owner to hire out his negroes, and good living to tempt the men to go readily into such service, if their masters desired them. But it cannot fail to be also seen, that if the men's labour is really worth the eighteen dollars per month, and their provisions besides, it is a positive robbery of their only natural wealth, the labour of their hands, to steal it from their pockets, and place it in that of their owners. It does not require the aid of reading and writing for the negroes to discover this : and the greater part of them are no doubt quite conscious of the injustice thus done to them, though the remedy is beyond their reach. The only thing they can do is to run away, and try to get to some place where they can work for themselves,

and enjoy the profit of their own toil. The following, from a Savannah paper, as one of a hundred such announcements, abundantly proves this.

“One Hundred Dollars Reward will be given for my two Fellows, Abram and Frank, who have absconded, or fifty dollars for either of them, to be put in some secure jail, so that I get them. Abram is a tall, likely black man; Frank, a yellow complected man; he stutters, and has a pleasing countenance; both likely, active men. Abram has a wife at Colonel Stewart's in Liberty County, and a sister in Savannah at Capt. Grovenstine's. Frank has a wife at Mr. Le Cont's, Liberty County, a mother at Thunderbolt, and a sister in Savannah. *They will, in all probability be at work on the wharves in Savannah, and on board of vessels.* All persons are cautioned not to harbour or employ them, as no expense will be spared in prosecuting, if proof can be had.

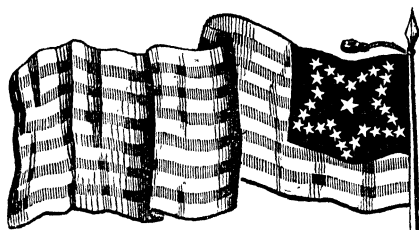
“WM. ROBERTS,

“Walthourville, Liberty Co. Jan. 5, 1839.”

This is an announcement, dated from “*Liberty County*,” and the object is to arrest and punish those who thought that liberty was better than slavery, and therefore sought the change. As a proof, however, that it was not indolence, or a dislike of labour, which prompted this step, their very owner publicly asserts the probability that they would “be found *working* on the wharves or on board ships,” where they would enjoy the fruits of their own labour, instead of its being appropriated to enrich another.

Here, too, as at Charleston, the most democratic papers were most violent in their denunciation of Abolitionism; and the strangest contrast was often observable in the columns of the same paper; one page teeming with proofs of the ultra-democratic or extreme republican views of the editor, and the

other advocating the most uncontrolled despotism over the slave population, and deprecating any interference with the "cherished institutions" and "constitutional rights of the South." The Daily Georgian, for instance, from which some of the advertisements respecting the sale and hire of slaves, and rewards for their apprehension, were taken, has, over its leading article, an American flag unfurled, exhibiting its stripes and stars to the eye, and under it are the following lines, repeated in every day's paper, as the motto of its principles—



“Flag of the Free! still bear thy sway,
Undimmed through ages yet untold;
O'er Earth's proud realms thy stars display,
Like morning's radiant clouds unrolled.
Flag of the Skies! still peerless shine,
Through ether's azure vault unfurled,
Till every hand and heart entwine,
To sweep Oppression from the world.”

In the same spirit, and to keep alive, as much as possible, the democratic sentiment, all anecdotes tending to exhibit this prominent characteristic of American institutions, are highly relished and universally acceptable; such as this, taken from the Charleston Mercury, and repeated in all the papers, probably, of the Union—

“ A distinguished American lady, while at Rome, was asked by a Cardinal, if he could have the pleasure of presenting her to the Pope. On her inquiring whether she would be permitted to converse with His Holiness, the Cardinal replied, that she could not ; for this was an honour confined to princesses of the blood, the daughters of sovereigns. ‘ But, sir,’ replies the lady, ‘ I am a princess of the blood, and a daughter of a sovereign ; for in America the people are *all* sovereigns, and I am the daughter of one of the people.’ His Holiness was so much pleased with this Spartan boldness, that an interview was granted, and the American princess admitted to an honour to which no lady of private station had ever before aspired.”

When these American princesses, however, attempt to exercise even the rights of ordinary citizens in their own country, on the proscribed topic of Abolition, they are soon taught, by severe public rebuke, that they are not *quite* so free as they are represented to be, and that their “sovereignty” is very limited indeed. Of this, the following may be taken as proof, from the Savannah Telegraph of February, 1839—

“*Abolition in Delaware.*—The following brief, but significant report, was lately made in the Legislature of Delaware, by Mr. Jones of Wilmington, an able Democratic member.

“Mr. Jones on Friday presented the following report :—

“The Committee, to whom was referred the petition of 319 women of the city of Wilmington and county of New Castle, praying for the Abolition of Slavery throughout this State, beg leave to report—

“That they consider the petitioning of women, to our National and State Legislatures (which they regret to see is becoming so general a practice) as derogatory from that refinement and delicacy which should, under all circumstances, accompany the female character, and as an unwarranted interference in subjects that should more properly belong to their fathers, husbands, or brothers

“Your Committee are also decidedly of opinion, that the petitioners whose names are affixed to the memorial under consideration, would confer more real benefit upon society, if they hereafter confined their attention to matters of a domestic nature, and would be more solicitous to mend the garments of their husbands and children, than to patch the breaches of the laws and Constitution.”

It was during my stay in Savannah that the speech of Mr. Clay, the Whig candidate for the Presidency at the next election, was published in the newspapers, and made matter of universal comment and conversation. It was delivered in the Senate of the United States on the 7th of February; and, both from the importance of the subject, and the position of the speaker, it was made the subject of eulogy, or censure, in almost every paper of the Union. Mr. Clay is the most prominent of the Whig leaders in Congress; but of late there had been some doubt as to the part he would take on the subject of Abolition. The friends of this doctrine in the North, belonging to the Whig party, had begun to indulge hopes that he would be with them; and many sincere Abolitionists were on this ground added to the ranks of his supporters for the next presidency. But he found by experience that he lost more friends in the slave-holding States, than he gained supporters in the free States, by this temporizing conduct; and discovered, also, that General Harrison, his rival Whig candidate, was gaining on him in many quarters. It is remarkable, too, that Mr. Van Buren's only hope of re-election to the presidency, was from his retaining the support of the South, by his opposition to negro-emancipation: they like his democracy well enough, but they like his determined opposition to the Abolitionists much

better. For any one to compete successfully with Mr. Van Buren for the presidency, it was indispensable that he should be as zealous an opponent of Abolition as the reigning president, or he would be deserted by the entire South, and consequently lose his election. This late movement of Mr. Clay, to proclaim his horror of Abolitionists, and their views and practices, is believed, therefore, by many to be a mere political manœuvre, and as such is denounced by most of the friends of the doctrines he espouses. As this is a very instructive lesson on the subject of American politics and politicians, I have selected for insertion here, three of the shortest and most striking comments on this speech, from the papers of the day. The first is from "The Constitutionalist," of Georgia, a very moderate and impartial journal; the editor of which says—

"We have read the speech of Mr. Clay on the Abolition question. The influence of his name will be felt, and the position he has assumed will have the salutary effect of neutralizing the efforts of the most fanatical of the Abolitionists to disturb the harmony of the Union, and the peace of the country. With pleasure then we receive the declarations of Mr. Clay on that deleterious question.

"We shall not question the sincerity of the declarations of Mr. Clay; but it must be permitted to us to express our surprise at the late period at which these declarations are made. Can it be possible that it is only a few weeks ago that Mr. Clay has formed an opinion on that important topic of the day? Why were not these declarations, and the expression of his opinion, made years ago? If he had taken two years ago that position which he now has assumed, the influence of his name would have prevented the angry feelings which sprung up in the South against a portion of our Northern brethren; because many of those Northern Whigs, friends of Mr. Clay, would have paused and reflected, before con-

necting themselves with the Abolitionists. Silence on the part of that gentleman has, no doubt, increased the number of those deluded citizens, especially when he was charged with an indirect support of the scheme proclaimed for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia and in the South. This charge was never publicly denied by Mr. Clay, until recently. Why then is the charge now denied? Is it to allay the excitement, which, by his silence, he has contributed to create? Is it to verify the charge alleged against him by one of the Georgia senators? If Mr. Clay believes that he will reap in the South all the benefits which he calculates on by his recent declarations, he will find himself greatly mistaken. The people of the South will not abandon men who have stood with them in defence of Southern institutions and Southern rights, when those institutions and those rights were assailed, for a man who stood aloof when the South wanted friends, and who, now that he finds it of necessity to propitiate this section of the Union, comes at the eleventh hour, and claims the same reward, for a labour which interest, perhaps, has induced him to perform."

The official organ of the government at Washington, the "Globe," deals with the speech in less measured terms, and speaks more truly the general feeling of the democratic party. The following is the article from that journal—

"In the senate to-day, Mr. Clay appeared in a new part. For some years past he was one of those who saw no harm in the Abolition movements. His biographer, Mr. Prentice, of the Louisville Journal, in his sketch of his life, has taken pains to varnish up for display in the light of Northern philanthropy, Mr. Clay's early Emancipation principles. This, Mr. Clay carefully kept alive himself, by proposing to set apart, in his distribution of the public lands, a portion to carry out this scheme. In 1836 he voted against the effort made by the administration to prevent the circulation of incendiary prints in the South, tending to excite insurrection; and even as late as the last session, he voted against Mr. Rives's resolution, throwing cold water on the firebrand petitions continually sent into Congress. But, to-day

what a sudden change we have had in all the senator's courtesy, kindness, and forbearance for Abolition—no sudden flaw of our variable city weather equals it. During the first part of the session Mr. Clay dodged every vote, and avoided, by a retreat behind the columns, any expression of opinion about the reception of Abolition petitions; but to-day he brought in an anti-abolition petition, and never was a party so belaboured in a set speech of some hours, as the fanatics! fanatics!! He denounced them all, and did not spare even the fair spinsters of the East. He conjured them to remember, that when with their fair hands they dipped their pens in ink to sign an Abolition petition, they dipped them in blood! He exhausted his pathos in portraying "conflagrated cities," "desolated fields," and scenes of "butchery and murder." There was not a man in the senate who did not see through this new act of the drama, the moment the curtain rose. Mr. Clay finds Harrison has the start of him with the Abolition-Antimasonic-Whigs."

The most able and influential of the southern papers, the "Charleston Courier," is so much more enamoured of Mr. Clay's anti-abolitionism, than it is displeased with his Whig principles, that it is lavish in his praise; and if the "Washington Globe" speaks the probable sentiments of the great bulk of the democratic party, and the "Georgia Constitutionalist" embodies the views of the more moderate of the Southern politicians, the Charleston Courier, no doubt, represents, with greater accuracy than either, the feelings and opinions of the slave-holding States, and its language is therefore important, as the index of the policy which that party are determined to preserve. The editor, Mr. Yeadon, is a gentleman of the bar, eminent in his profession, estimable in his character, sincere in his opinions, and independent in his expression of them; and all

these qualities give force and value to the productions of his pen. These, then, are the terms in which he speaks of Mr. Clay's speech—

“ Mr. Clay's Speech.—We have given a hurried perusal to Mr. Clay's great anti-abolition speech in the American senate: and we will lay it before our daily readers as soon as our crowded columns will permit. It crowns its author with glory, and gives him new claims to the name and fame of a true and fearless patriot, and to the warm gush of Southern gratitude. The political tenets of the South may forbid it from ever supporting Mr. Clay for the presidency, but let it not deny him the meed due to his patriotism and fidelity to the Constitution. Twice before, namely, on the Missouri question and on the Tariff compromise, has he played the noble part of pacificator of the Union, and he has now literally swept Abolition from its moorings and coverts, dissevered it from the right of petition and other adventitious aids, and held it up, in isolated odium, to the scorn and indignation of the republic, leaving its frenzied advocate, the notorious Morris of Ohio, nothing but the sneers of the august and enlightened assembly he dared to insult with his treasonable balderdash.

“ He divides the Abolitionists into three classes:—those who oppose slavery on grounds of humanity and philanthropy, and do not shame their profession by traitorous plottings, and conspiracies against the tranquillity of the South and the peace of the Union;—those who are misled into seeming co-operation with Abolition, by the false issue raised on the right of petition;—and those who recklessly and wickedly pursue their bad purpose, in utter disregard of the rights of property, the provisions of the Constitution, the rights of the States, and the preservation of our Union, and its glorious system of government;—and each class receives its due appreciation. An excoriating allusion is made to O'Connell, as the plunderer of his own country, and the libeller of a kindred people; and Mr. Stevenson is held pardonable for being made to swerve from his propriety by virtuous and patriotic indignation against the wretch. The mingling of Abolitionism with the politics of the country receives the just and stern rebuke, and is held up as an alarming symptom of the times. A rapid survey is taken

of the three prominent eras of Abolitionism in our republic. Simultaneously with the first operation of the federal constitution, it broke ground in the halls of the national legislature, by the process of petition, and a temperate and well-reasoned report reduced the Abolitionists themselves to reason, and quieted the country. Next, the Missouri question shook the Union with fearful motion ; but the spirit of compromise, which dictated the Constitution, was again invoked, and we escaped the peril. The third epoch includes the last few years and the present time.

“ This last excitement is the result of the stimulus given to the spirit of Abolition by British West India emancipation, an example inapplicable in all its aspects, political, social, and statistical, to this country ; and the evil influence has been heightened and aggravated by those who would stake the peace and glory of their country on the hazard of the die, in the game of politics. Abolition in the district of Columbia, it is argued in a masterly and convincing manner, would be a violation of the public faith, implicitly pledged to Virginia and Maryland, when they ceded the district to the Union for a seat of government, and an unjust and dishonest perversion of the grant of exclusive legislation over the district to the national legislature. Abolition in Florida, it is insisted with equal force, would be in violation of the Spanish treaty of cession, and a trampling under foot of the Missouri compromise. The prevention of the removal of slaves from one state to another, is shown to be the result of a *destructive*, and not a *conservative* construction of the power to regulate commerce among the several States, and to be concluded by the constitutional recognition of slaves as ‘ property.’ And the clause relating to the migration and importation of slaves, is proved to refer to the *introduction* and not the removal of that description of persons. Mr. Clay denounces the Abolitionists as aiming at universal emancipation ; he shows that on the principles of the British example, their scheme would require, to carry it out, an indemnity of *twelve hundred millions of dollars*, which they ought to begin by raising, to pay the despoiled South. He demonstrates the malign workings of Abolitionism on the interests of the slaves themselves, by checking the efforts of benevolence for the melioration of their condition ; and closes with an eloquent, touching, and heart-stirring appeal to

all parties in Congress, and all classes of his fellow-citizens, to resist the evil spirit of Abolitionism, rally around the constitution, and preserve the peace and tranquillity of the country.

“When Mr. Clay sat down, Mr. Calhoun, with honourable liberality, rose, and said he had heard the speech of the senator from Kentucky with the greatest pleasure. He thought it would have great effect. The work, said he, is done! Abolition is no more! The South is consolidated!

“Nor do we quarrel with him, that he should have added,

‘*Quorum pars magna fui.*’

One of the most amusing peculiarities of American politicians, is the extraordinary effects which they predict, or proclaim, of the delivery of remarkable speeches. Mr. Calhoun says, “Abolition is no more.” “The work is done;” and his admirers throughout the South will reiterate this sentiment in their several journals and meetings for a few weeks, when they will discover that Abolition is as fresh and vigorous as ever, and they will then be proposing new checks to keep the monster down. Though they exclaim, “and thrice we slew the slain,” yet, after this threefold death, the demon rises again into stronger life than ever; and every subsequent death only makes his resurrection the more certain. It was during the last session of Congress only, at Washington, that Mr. Calhoun made a speech, in which he denounced Mr. Clay in such terms as induced the Washington editor of the “Chronicle” to say that Mr. Clay was “annihilated,” and to predict that his name would never again be mentioned but as an “object of ridicule and scorn;” yet, in twelve months afterwards, his very denouncer is the same individual who rises to do him honour; so short-sighted are political predictions,

and so transient in duration are the most powerful political harangues.

During our stay at Savannah we enjoyed a pleasant excursion to a spot in the neighbourhood, called Bonaventure, the drive to which is among pine-trees and live-oaks, and over a road of deep sand, with here and there a magnolia-tree, of large size and noble proportions, mingling with the other inhabitants of the forest, and a variety of beautiful flowering shrubs, giving great richness to the foliage of the woods.

I attended here three meetings connected with benevolent objects, at which I was solicited to take part in the proceedings; and the result of each was extremely satisfactory.

The first of these was a meeting of the inhabitants of Savannah, to consider the claims of seamen on the sympathies of their fellow-countrymen, and the desirability of erecting for them a "Sailor's Home," in the shape of a boarding-house, adapted to their accommodation, with a union of comfort, economy, and sobriety, in a greater degree than are to be found in the existing establishments in which they are lodged and boarded on shore. The meeting was held in the large Presbyterian Church of Savannah, and was crowded to excess, there being, it was thought, at least 2,500 persons present, and many were unable to get in for want of room. After a suitable hymn and prayer by the pastor of the church, and the minister of another congregation in the city, I occupied the remainder of the evening by an address from the pulpit, on the subject for which the meeting was convened, enumerating the peculiar disadvantages under which seamen laboured, showing the numerous

temptations by which they were beset on every side, and pointing out the means by which their situation might be greatly improved, through the establishment of a "Sailor's Home," on the plan of those at Boston, New York, and other maritime cities; to which might be added a library and reading-room, a school for navigation, play-grounds for athletic sports, a savings-bank for their wages, and a store for the supply of cheap and well-made clothing. I cited the example of New Bedford, in raising, by a small tax on her tonnage, the sum of 10,000 dollars to build such a Home; and of Charleston, in raising a similar sum by a small tax on the rice and cotton shipped at her port. As the church, in which this address was delivered, had cost 120,000 dollars, which was furnished by the subscriptions of one sect only in the town, I appealed to the audience, as members of all the different sects in Savannah, whether they would suffer the reproach of being unable or unwilling to raise so small a sum as 10,000 dollars from their whole body, for so good and useful a purpose as that of building this "Sailor's Home," which when once erected, would maintain itself. The audience appeared to be deeply interested; and at the close of an address of about two hours, there was more of excitement and interest manifested than is usual in American audiences, especially in a place of worship, and on a Sabbath evening. I had the happiness of being assured also by those competent to judge, and sufficiently impartial to be relied on for their accuracy, that a deep impression had been made in favour of the undertaking advocated, and that the shipowners and merchants of Savannah

would no doubt see it carried forward and completed without delay.

The second meeting that I attended was at one of the largest and most splendid private residences in Savannah. It was held in the morning, at eleven o'clock, and consisted entirely of ladies, with the exception of a young Missionary, who had recently returned from India, China, and the Isles of the Pacific, in which he had laboured as a minister for several years. The ladies composing the meeting were members of a Society for promoting Education and Christianity among the Females of the East, and the object of their assembling was to hear from the young Missionary and myself, some details respecting the condition of women in Asiatic countries, and the probable success of any measures that might be taken to promote their elevation and improvement. The meeting was opened by reading a chapter of the Bible, and this was followed by prayer, after which, I spoke for about half an hour on the subject proposed, and answered various questions during another half hour. After this, the young Missionary gave some interesting details respecting the countries he had visited, the state of females there, and the probable success of the benevolent efforts of his countrywomen for their relief. The ladies at this meeting comprised members of the principal families of Savannah; they were all occupied with needle-work during the greater part of the time, and I learnt subsequently that this was in conformity to a rule of the Society—that work to a certain amount in value should be done by every member at their meetings during the year, and the proceeds applied to the

objects of the Society in aid of its funds. Every one seemed earnestly interested, and the morning was most agreeably occupied.

The third meeting that I attended was on the last evening of our stay in Savannah ; namely, Sunday the 24th of February, when, at the request of some of the leading friends of the Temperance cause in the city, I delivered an address from the pulpit of the large Presbyterian church, to an audience of about 1,500 persons, giving a sketch of the rise, progress, and present state of the reformation in England, adding to this, various facts to prove the great utility of Temperance Societies, and advocating their being formed on the principle of total abstinence from all that can intoxicate, as the only certain preventive against the evils of intemperance.

Upon the whole, our stay in Savannah was as agreeable as any that we had yet made in either of the cities of the United States, and our enjoyments were unalloyed by a single drawback. Our only regret was that an intercourse so pleasurable as that which we had enjoyed with its intelligent and hospitable families, should be of such short duration, and so suddenly broken off. Every family on whom we called to take leave, evinced sincere regret at our departure, and we felt as though we were separating from friends of long standing, instead of two short weeks' acquaintance.

CHAP. X.

Embarkation in the steam-boat for Augusta—Sir Walter Raleigh's mound, raised by the Indians—Singular juxtaposition and contrast of names on the river—Settlement of Purisburgh by the Swiss—Trees and flowering shrubs of the forest—Alligators, snakes, birds, and wild animals—Vegetable moss in festoons of drapery on the trees—Rafts descending the river—Stations for firewood—Southern integrity—Superstition of African negroes—Vicissitudes of temperature—Steam-boat in the woods—Indian corn, ample returns—Cotton factories, slave-labour used—Arrival at Augusta.

ON Monday, the 25th of February, we left Savannah for Augusta, in the steam-packet, "Thorne." The morning was extremely disagreeable—a heavy rain descending in torrents, and the river being so covered with fog as to make it difficult to see the opposite bank. The temperature, however, was mild, as the wind was from the S. W. We left the hotel at nine o'clock in the morning, having previously sent on our baggage by two negro slaves from the house; but on reaching the vessel we had the mortification to find that only one portion, and that the least important, had reached its right destination, the other having been carried off, by mistake, to the "William Seabrook," another steamer just on the point of starting for Charleston, and lying at another wharf nearly a mile distant. By a great effort of speed, our servant arrived at the wharf just in time to prevent its embarkation; and we were thus saved, by a

hair's-breadth only, from one of the most disagreeable incidents of a steam-boat voyage.

As we pursued our way up the Savannah river, we found our small boat well adapted to its navigation; she was about 150 tons measurement, was propelled by low-pressure engines of 55 horse-power, and drew only $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet water; so that we glided along at a rate of more than ten miles an hour; but the vibratory motion of so much force on her slender frame, rendered it difficult to write with steadiness. Her accommodations were excellent; the ladies having their range of cabins below the main deck, with windows sufficiently above the water to be kept constantly open; the gentlemen's cabins being above the deck, double-berthed, with a window in each bed-place. Everything was remarkably clean, the captain obliging and attentive, and the steward's department and table well conducted.

The tide, which rises about six feet at the bar of Savannah, does not extend its influence much above the city; so that the current of the river, now running about four miles an hour, was against us, and yet we made good ten miles an hour by the land; so that our rate of speed must have been fourteen miles an hour through the water.

The first place of interest that we passed, was a spot called "Raleigh's Mound," raised, it is said, by the Indian chiefs of the olden time, to commemorate the visit of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the "talk" which they held with that distinguished navigator on this spot; and from the history of that period, there is no room to doubt the accuracy of this tradition. This is about three miles above Savannah.

On looking along the course of the river, as delineated on the map, it was curious to see the juxtaposition, and contrast of the names given to places on or near the stream. For instance :—Ebenezer is immediately followed by The Frying-Pan ; Blanket Point, Poor Robin's Cut, and Saucy Bay, follow next in succession. Higher up are Dog's Ferry and Tinker's Cut ; Augusta and Hamburg are opposite to each other ; and still farther up the river, Petersburg and Vienna are close neighbours ; whilst Edinburgh and Abbeville are not far off.

About eleven o'clock we passed the small settlement of Purisburg, on the Carolina side, originally settled by Swiss peasants, of whose descendants a few only remain ; and about one o'clock, we passed the village of Ebenezer, an old settlement of the Germans, of which there are few left ; the church and a small cluster of humble dwellings are all that remain of the town, Augusta and Savannah having drawn off its inhabitants by the superior facilities for commerce which they afford.

On our way up beyond this, we found the river lined on both sides with thick woods, approaching close to the stream, and having no open spaces for cultivation. This is owing to the frequent submersion of all the banks by floods ; for though the river is less than a quarter of a mile in average breadth, when confined within its proper bed, the waters rise from a height of ten feet, their present depth in mid-channel below, to thirty feet, after heavy rains ; and the river is then expanded over a breadth of three miles, covering all the low trees and bushes, and entirely submerging the land.

Among the trees, the most prominent were the evergreen live-oak, and the pitch-pine; but with these were intermingled the white-oak, the sycamore, the birch, the beech, the cypress, the gum-tree, and the willow. The misletoë was seen in great abundance on many of the trees, and cane-brakes were here and there interspersed near the banks of the stream; while the myrtle, the calmia, the grape-vine, the wild honeysuckle, and the magnolia, with many other flowering trees and shrubs, gave a rich promise of beauty in the more advanced season of spring.

Alligators frequent this river, and one or two were seen by us on our way, but almost lifeless, as they remain torpid during the winter. In the hot summer months they are seen in great numbers at every mile of the stream, and especially in the sweeps or bays occasioned by the serpentine turnings of the river, which are unusually tortuous and frequent. The alligators never attain to a greater length than twelve feet, and are not at all dangerous to man, from whose approach they invariably fly. It is said that they devour and feed upon their own offspring; and it is from this that many account for their not increasing very much; since, in their retreats, or nests, called alligator-holes, as large a brood as a hundred are seen at a time; but they do not come to maturity, as the numbers remain nearly stationary through a series of years, or diminish rather than increase. Snakes are found in the cane-brakes also; and some of these, particularly the rattle-snake, are formidable. The turkey-buzzard preys upon the

carrión along the river's banks; while wild turkeys and wild ducks are in sufficient abundance to furnish game for food.

The mocking-bird, and the red bird or Virginian nightingale, are each inhabitants of these woods, and often enliven the solitude with their songs; and the little kingfisher, with its pencilled and golden hues, dazzles and sparkles along the bushes which overhang the stream, perching sometimes on the same branch with a terrapin or small turtle, that has just emerged from the river to take the air, and both within a few inches of the surface of the stream. There are many animals in the woods: wild deer, wild hogs, and wild horned cattle: As these lands all belong to private individuals, though not yet cleared or appropriated, there is an annual slaughter, or *battu*, by men employed for the purpose of shooting them, and the spoil is divided among the proprietors of the woods in which they are shot.

The shad is the only fish found in great numbers in the river. These resemble the salmon in some respects; they are shorter and broader in shape, have larger scales, and their flesh is white; but in substance and flavour they are quite equal to the salmon, though not so rich. They are a salt-water-fish, and come in from the sea to enter the stream for the purpose of depositing their spawn. They are not found in any of the rivers north of the Potomac, at Washington, nor south of St. John's river, at St. Augustine; but within this range of latitude, from 30° to 40°, they abound from the middle of February to the end of March. They enter no rivers

but such as have falls or rapids ; and it is said they instinctively turn aside from the mouths of all streams whose head-waters are in marshes, and where no rapids or falls exist. The shad entering the Savannah river go up as far as the falls above Augusta, where they are taken in greater numbers than below, though everywhere along the river they are easily caught by the net.

In the extremely tortuous and winding course taken by the river, the actual distance from Savannah to Augusta is 250 miles by the stream, though not more than 120 by the land journey. In the bends and turnings thus occasioned, there are a succession of small bluffs, pointed promontories, and sweeping little curves or bays, alternating on either side ; for it almost uniformly happens that when there is a bluff or cliffy bank on the one side of the stream, there is a marsh or swamp on the opposite side, and *vice versa*. There are some small islands in the middle of the stream, and the land has gained in some places and lost in others, while the whole bed of the river appears to be somewhat elevated above the surrounding country, as is the case with most streams that carry along in their course much alluvial deposit. In some of the bluffs or cliffs, there are seen horizontal strata of fossil shells, on beds of yellow clay, superimposed by sand and light loam ; but these cliffs, if so they may be called, are rarely more than twenty or thirty feet high.

On the greater number of the trees in the thick woods that border the stream, are seen festoons of the vegetable substance called moss, it being, indeed, a parasitic plant which attaches itself to the trees, grow-

ing in the air without roots, and hanging in wreaths or festoons from branch to branch. It is most abundant on the cypress, but is seen also on the acacia, the gum tree, and many others. The colour is a dull dark grey, and the whole aspect is gloomy and melancholy, especially as it is found most abundantly in low, marshy, and unhealthy situations. It produces a small flower, of the colour of the peach blossom, and has very fine seeds, which so multiply the plant, that the whole forest for miles in succession seems clothed in this mourning drapery, the effect of which is very singular to an European eye. While fresh, it is used as food for horses and cattle, like hay; but it lives only while the tree on which it hangs is living; and as soon as the tree dies it perishes with it. The deer and other wild animals of the forest feed on it also. A method is in use of preparing it, after the manner of hemp rotted by water, by which process the outer coating of the plant is decomposed, and the inner fibre remains, resembling horse-hair, being strong, dark, and elastic. In this state it is used for mattresses, it being very agreeable to lie on, and is in general use. The same material is used also for stuffing saddles and horse-collars, and making into rope for harness, and large quantities of it are now exported to Europe, for stuffing sofas and chairs, while it is substituted for horse-hair by many upholsterers, saddlers and coachmakers.

In our voyage up the river we met several large rafts of timber, floating down with the stream, guided by two men, one at each end, with a large rude oar; and a small hut built on the centre, for the cooking. Several of these had forty or fifty bales of

cotton as freight ; though by such a mode of conveyance it was very likely to get wetted. I learnt, however, that this was very little thought of, as not more than one bale in fifty of all the cotton in Georgia was under cover to protect it from rain. It frequently happens that when the raft takes the ground, the cotton bales are thrown overboard and float in the river till the raft is got off, when they are picked up and taken on board again ; the water does not penetrate more than an inch beyond the surface, and this soon dries up. More than one-half of the whole crop produced in Georgia, is transported down to Savannah for shipment by this river.

During our passage we halted several times at fixed stations to take in a supply of wood, as this is the only fuel used for the steam-engines. There was rarely any person at these stations in charge of the wood, or to superintend its delivery, labour being too dear to be so appropriated ; but there is placed on a pole a small box, into which the person who takes the supply of wood he requires, is requested to deposit an order for the payment on Augusta or Savannah, relying on his honesty to enter the exact quantity he takes away. Once a week these orders are collected by a clerk, who visits the station, and takes out the papers deposited in the box. The price of such wood, hewn into pieces of a convenient size, and piled up in cords, is three dollars per cord ; and the boats that ply on the river being well known, there is rarely or ever any difficulty about the supplies or payment.

On the Carolina side, on our right hand, we

passed a station called "The Willow Oak Spring," where a fine spring of beautifully clear water is found very near the river ; but some traditional stories of ghosts being connected with this locality, the negroes, who are very superstitious, have great dread in passing it at night. Many of the negroes now in this country are of African birth. The direct importation of slaves from Africa did not cease till long after the revolution ; and some, therefore, of these imported slaves still survive, retaining many of their idolatrous notions and practices, and nearly all their native superstitions.

The whole of the day continued to be damp and foggy, though the rain had abated ; and at night the fog rested so thickly on the river, though all was clear above, that it was difficult to see our way. The steersmen, of whom there were two, each skilful pilots, were often puzzled to keep in mid-channel, and were frequently obliged to lessen our speed to avoid running on shore ; but with these occasional interruptions only, we continued to run all night.

On the following morning, February 26th, the weather was clear, and the sun shone out with all his brightness. The weather, too, was as warm as in an English summer, though on the preceding day it was so cold as to make a fire agreeable in the cabin. These vicissitudes are common here ; and one gentleman of our party assured us that last winter he had been in Augusta, when at twelve o'clock at night the air was quite close and sultry, and the rain descending freely ; and at sunrise on the following morning, the whole country was bound in frost, the water in his bed-room being hard frozen.

Another added, that in 1835, the year in which all the orange-trees in Georgia and Florida were killed by the cold, and have never since revived, the thermometer at Augusta fell to 8° below zero ; but on the average of several years, the range of the thermometer is found to be from 20° , the lowest, in January and February, to 90° , the highest, in July and August.

About thirty miles before we came to Augusta, we passed a steam-vessel lying high and dry in the woods, where she had grounded during a high flood among the trees, and had never been got off since. Just above this, at a wood-landing, called Silver Bluff, were several houses, one of which, near the river, on the Carolina side, was of two stories, the lower half of brick and the upper half of wood ; but all of them were uninhabited.

It has been found here, as in the great river of the Mississippi, that the bluffs, though originally chosen for places of residence from their elevation, are not so healthy as the lower lands. This is accounted for by their exposure to the miasma arising from the swamps on the opposite side of the river. Purisburg and Ebenezer were both seated on such bluffs, and have never grown into any size or importance ; and even Savannah was for many years extremely unhealthy, until the marsh lands opposite to it were purchased by the city, and drained and devoted to a dry culture of the cotton plant, instead of the rice formerly grown there.

As we approached nearer to Augusta, the signs of cultivation began to appear nearer the river's edge, and through openings in the woods we could per-

ceive cattle grazing, and Indian corn lands lying in stubble. The soil here is peculiarly favourable for the cultivation of this grain, it requiring about a bushel and half to sow an acre, and the returns yielding sixty bushels at least, and often more.

Still nearer to Augusta, and on the Carolina side, is a stream of fine clear water, emptying itself into the river with great force. It is called Horse Creek; and some few miles upward, on its banks, are seated two cotton factories, worked by water-power, at a place called Vaucuse. They have been established about nine years, and are considered prosperous and profitable concerns. They are principally devoted to the spinning of cotton yarn, though some weaving of coarse cotton cloths is done in them also. The labourers employed are chiefly negro slaves, especially women and girls; and under the direction of a few white superintendents, or overseers, they are found to perform their duty very well.

About noon on the second day of our voyage from Savannah, we came in sight of Augusta, which, with its dwellings, spires, and bridge, presented a promising appearance on a bluff, or high land, like Savannah, and on the same side of the river, namely, the S.W. or on the left hand as you sail up the stream. At one, we reached the landing-place, having been about twenty-seven hours, or twenty-five deducting the stoppages, performing a distance of 250 miles against a current of four miles, thus making an actual rate of fourteen miles an hour all the way.

C H A P. X I.

Plan of the city, spacious streets—Public buildings—Liberty Pole—Churches, population, manners of society—Medical college—Jail, discipline—Academy, free school, ladies' seminary—Theatre, library—Mild treatment of slaves—Cotton factories, Irish emigrants—Bridges, railroads, and iron steam-vessels—Falls of the Savannah—Trappers at the rapids—Snow-hill and Campbelltown—Search for hidden treasures—Exhaustion of the soil by the cotton crops—Lottery for lands vacated by the Cherokee Indians—Wood near the river—Grape vines—The opossum and racoon—Prickly pear, wax plant—Hamburgh—Liberty hill—Slave-breeding in Virginia for Southern markets—Prohibition of all public discussion on Slavery—Efforts to promote direct commerce from the South.

WE remained at Augusta for a week, and were very pleasantly accommodated at the private residence of Judge Hale, to whom we had letters of introduction from our friends at Savannah, and where we found ourselves as much at home as in our own abode. My lectures were given in the Baptist church every evening of the week without intermission, where they were very largely attended; and here, as at Savannah and at Charleston, the resident families seemed to vie with each other as to who should show us the greatest kindness and attention. We interchanged many agreeable visits, were taken by families in their carriages to several pleasant excursions in the neighbourhood, and saw all that was worthy of interest in the town itself.

Augusta was first founded in 1735, and was so called in honour of London, of which this was the

ancient Roman name. It was planned by General Oglethorpe, the founder of Savannah ; and though at first only intended as an interior station for collecting the peltries, or skins, with which the settlers were supplied by the Indians, yet it was laid out by him with all the regularity becoming a great city, which he, no doubt, believed it would one day become.

The plan exhibits three very broad streets, 165 feet in width, and each upwards of a mile in length, running parallel to the river. Several streets of smaller dimensions lie behind these, and are crossed by others at right angles, dividing the whole therefore into a great number of squares. These streets are all lined with rows of trees on each side, to give shade, and add beauty to the avenue ; and the tree called the Pride of India, is chiefly used for this purpose.

The principal street of business is that nearest the river, though not immediately in front of it. This is called Broad-street, and in it are several good hotels, the Planters', the Globe, the United States, the Mansion-house, the Eagle and Phoenix, and others. Here also are nearly all the banks, of which, and insurance and trust companies, there are nearly a dozen. There is a large Masonic-hall also, two spacious and airy market houses, with open colonnades and a surmounting turret, many substantial dwellings, stores, and shops, and all the necessary adjuncts of business.

The second street in importance is Green-street, it lies next in order within, or beyond Broad-street, receding from the river, and running parallel to it.

This is of the same ample breadth as the former, and, like it, is lined with rows of trees, while the centre is a fine green turf, there being little or no thoroughfare of waggons or carts this way. The houses on each side of this are mostly private dwellings, and many of them are spacious and elegant. In this street also stands the city Court-house, a fine brick edifice, with portico, and tower surmounted by a statue of Justice, and having within a beautiful full-length picture of General Washington; the whole surrounded by a lawn and iron railing, and producing a fine effect. It cost 120,000 dollars. In front of it on a square pedestal is a tall mast called The Liberty Pole, the top of which bears a cap of liberty, and on it the national flag is displayed on days of public festivity.

Of churches there are seven: namely, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Catholic, Unitarian, and African Baptist; the first two are the handsomest structures, and are frequented by the more opulent families of the community; but all are well sustained by the voluntary system, and the ministers and congregations of each live in perfect harmony and peace with each other.

The population of Augusta is estimated at about 8,000, of whom there are not more than 4,000 whites, the remainder being negro slaves and coloured people. The whites are almost all engaged in trade with the interior; and from Augusta being the great centre of banking operations and exchange for a wide tract of inland country beyond it, it is thought that there is no city of the same population, more wealthy than Augusta in the United States. The

planters of Georgia send their cotton in here for sale, and draw from this all their supplies for interior consumption ; so that there is a very active business continually carrying on, especially in the spring and fall of the year.

In the summer, some few of the richest families go off to the north, to the Virginia Springs, to Saratoga, or to Rhode Island ; but the greater number repair to a very pleasant village, called Summerville, on the heights behind the town, at a distance of about three miles, where a number of handsome residences are collected, which are now deserted, but in the summer are quite full.

There is nothing peculiar in the manners and customs of Augusta ; the inhabitants are not perhaps on the whole so polished as those of Charleston, or so hospitable as those of Savannah ; but their excessive occupations of business may account for their not possessing the one, and a more frugal and simple mode of living may account for their not so extensively exercising the other ; those families however, with whom we had the pleasure to hold intercourse, were characterized by great intelligence, frankness, ease of manners, affability, and courtesy.

There is a good Hospital in the city, supported by the municipal funds ; and a Medical College, with chaste Doric portico and dome, at which there are from 70 to 80 students, the college being endowed by the State, and having an excellent Museum and apparatus. There is a Jail also, for debtors and criminals ; but in the treatment of these last they neither adopt the Philadelphia system of solitary confinement, nor the Auburn system of labour and

silence, but suffer them to congregate together and to be idle, which is a double evil, and the cost of their maintenance is a burden to the City funds. There are from forty to fifty persons in it at present, the debtors being separated from the criminals, and the white prisoners from the coloured.

There is a large Academy close to the Medical College, for the higher branches of education, supported by the County funds ; a Free School on the Lancasterian plan, originally instituted by private subscription, but since maintained by the interest of a large bequest made by a benevolent individual for its support, and now therefore rendered independent of all pecuniary aid. There are also some Common Schools for boys, and an excellent Seminary for girls, under the direction of Mrs. Moise, a Jewish lady of great accomplishments, there being many wealthy merchants of the Hebrew nation settled here ; and in this school every department of female education is well conducted.

There is a small theatre in Augusta ; but, as in all the smaller cities of America, it is feebly supported, and indeed rarely frequented by the more respectable inhabitants, except on the occasion of some attractive performer visiting the place.

An attempt was recently made to establish a Lyceum, for regular lectures ; but it failed. There is a tolerable library, which is used, however, only by a few, as business seems to leave but little leisure or inclination for study, with any class of society in this busy town.

There are two newspapers, the Daily Sentinel and Chronicle, of Whig politics ; and the Constitutionalist,

published three times a week, of Democratic politics, with a monthly literary journal, called the *Augusta Mirror*. These are, however, but feebly conducted, and seem to exercise little or no influence on public opinion. The Whigs have gained great strength here of late. Both parties, Whig and Democratic, are now favourable to the continuance of the Union, and unwilling to endanger it by pressing too closely the doctrines of State rights and Nullification, like their neighbours in South Carolina. All are Anti-abolitionists, though, as respects the inhabitants generally, they are more kind in the treatment of their slaves, and less apprehensive of danger from insurrection, than in Carolina. Though the law here, as in all the slave states, forbids the instruction of negroes, many of them learn, of their own accord, to read and write, and some are taught by masters; and this illegal practice is winked at by those who know it, because it is found that no danger arises from such instruction. The children are said to be quite as apt as the whites in acquiring knowledge, and display in general greater eagerness to attain it.

The law also forbids any man to give freedom to his slave, except he is taken out of the territory. But even this is evaded by some humane owners, who, though they cannot give their slaves legal freedom in the State, give them the entire command of their labour, and allow them to work for themselves, and enjoy without deduction all the fruits of their industry. Several such cases were mentioned to us, and in every instance, the slaves so enjoying the rewards of their own labour appropriated a portion of it to the learning of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and

sometimes to the acquiring the knowledge of some trade by which their gains could be increased. This sort of emancipation is quite within the power of all slave-owners to give to their negroes ; and no one pretends to say that this would be dangerous ; but then it would require the sacrifice, on the part of the owner, of all the gains he now makes from the labour or wages of his slaves—and this, his selfishness will not permit him to make. It is, therefore, a mere question of pecuniary loss or gain, after all. Indeed my own conviction is, that if the slave-owners of America could but be persuaded that they would *gain* more by setting their slaves free, than by keeping them in bondage, they would all do so to-morrow ; and that all their pretended alarms about insurrection, annihilation, and so on, would vanish like a dream.

There are two large cotton factories in Georgia, within eight or ten miles of Augusta, worked by water-power, and chiefly engaged in spinning. In these, white labour is more used than black, there being, in the interior of the State, a number of poor white families, to whom this occupation is a great relief. Most of these are either actual emigrants from Ireland, or descendants of such emigrants ; and their poverty is wholly attributable to their habits of intemperance. I was assured, by a gentleman who had paid great attention to this subject, that the average life of an Irish emigrant here, rarely exceeds three years, if he persists in drinking spirits ; but that in the few instances in which men had been prevailed upon to leave off this poison, and use water only for their beverage, they were as long-lived and as prosperous as the natives of the country

There has been some reform of late in this respect, by the operations of the Total Abstinence Society, recently established here, to succeed the old Temperance Society; and therefore, while in Savannah, with a population of 10,000, there are still 125 licensed spirit-shops, yielding a licensed revenue of 5,000 dollars per annum to the city-funds, there are here only about 50 licensed spirit-dealers, paying 50 dollars each for a license; and this privilege is often refused by the council to persons of bad repute.

There are two bridges across the river, one from the city of Augusta to the opposite village of Ham-burgh, and another higher up the stream. They are both built of wood: the lower one, which is a little more than 500 feet in length, cost about 30,000 dollars; and the upper one, which is little more than half that length, cost about 20,000 dollars. They have no beauty of appearance, but they are safe, and will answer every purpose till time and accumulated capital shall lead to the substitution of more solid and ornamental structures in their stead.

There are two rail-roads leading from Augusta, one to Charleston in South Carolina, which begins at the village of Hamburgh, and goes for 136 miles, the distance being performed in about nine hours; and the other towards Milledgeville in Georgia, about 70 miles of which are completed, and the rest is in progress.

The steam-vessels that ply on the river, and carry cargoes of cotton, as well as passengers, from Augusta to Savannah, are mostly built of iron. We saw several of these at the wharf where we landed. It is said that the first iron steam-vessel used in America

was on the Savannah river. The castings and the wrought-iron, for both are used in their construction, are made in England, and they are allowed to pass free of duty, for this specific purpose. They are found to be strong, safe, light, and durable, and are likely to supersede the use of wooden steam-boats altogether, especially as, in addition to all their other advantages, they cannot be consumed by fire.

During our stay in Augusta, we made a pleasant excursion up to the Falls of the river, about three miles above the town. We rode up on the Carolina side, and went to see a spot called Snow Hill, which overlooks the Falls, and commands an extensive and pleasing view of the country on both sides the stream. The Falls, or Rapids as they should rather be called, are occasioned by ledges of hard rock that stretch across the bed of the river, like the second cataract of the Nile above Philœ or Assouan. This is the boundary of steam-navigation up the stream; but long and narrow boats come down these rapids, and shoot through small openings known to the pilots, carrying forty or fifty bales of cotton in each boat. At present there are a large number of traps set along the ledges, for catching the shad-fish; and some of the trappers make, it is said, fifty dollars in a single night, by the fish they take in this way.

Snow Hill is the most ancient spot of European settlement in this quarter. A little colony was first planted here; then another sprung up at a place close by, called Campbell Town; and lastly arose Augusta. Of Campbell Town there are not more than a dozen dwellings left, and these are all abandoned, and falling to pieces. Of the settle-

ment at Snow Hill there is not even one perfect house remaining, but the ruins of the first dwelling built there is seen in a shapeless heap; and in turning up some of its remains, my son found the rusty lock of an old musket, the necessary accompaniment of all settlements in those early days, when the Indian wigwams were often within a few miles of the settler's cottage. There also we were shown many circular excavations in the earth, of eight or ten feet depth, which were said to be places in which the people of the country sometimes employ their leisure in digging for hidden treasure, from a belief that in those early settlements it was often the practice, in time of danger, to bury vessels of gold and silver, and coin; and that such places being abandoned by parties who never returned to them again, the treasure would remain untouched. A very few instances of success in such researches would, of course, be sufficient to set many imitators in motion.

The three adjoining counties are here called Richmond, Chatham, and Burke, after the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Chatham, and Edmund Burke—all friends of America, in her struggle for independence. These counties are devoted to agriculture and pasture; the chief products being cotton, corn, and oats, on the high lands; and pasturage, or rice, on the low. The soil, however, is said to be everywhere deteriorating, even at this early period, for want of rest and manure. On this subject, that I may not be supposed to speak without good authority, I transcribe an extract from an "Address to the Farmers of Georgia for 1839," published in the *Augusta Constitutionalist*, in which the writer says,

“ By an act of the legislature of 1837, about forty gentlemen were constituted a board of agriculture and rural economy. These men were selected for their supposed qualifications, to advance the farming interest of Georgia, upon which all the prosperity of her citizens depend. By the aforesaid act, this board were to meet annually in Milledgeville, on the third Monday in November. It is believed that three-fourths of the persons named in the law, had no knowledge of its existence, and, therefore, the meeting was almost entirely neglected; some, however, did meet, and these highly approved of the object proposed.

“ It was proposed at the meeting, that a practical member of it should address a few essays to the planters, calling their attention to some of those important objects that should engage their care and attention.

“ First, then, as good soil is the first essential requisite to profitable farming, it is obvious this should engage the planter's care and labour; this should be done in two ways;—when the soil is naturally good, provision should be made to keep it so—when the soil is either naturally poor, or rendered so by exhaustion through bad husbandry, steps should, without delay, be taken for its restoration.

“ The farmers of Georgia could not have pursued a more fatal course than they have done for the last thirty years. The growing of cotton on broken lands, is the most ready way that can be adopted, to utterly destroy them. Hence we have thousands of acres that were once fertile, and richly repaid labour, now worthless, to the last degree—nothing but sterile red clay, full of gullies. And what has the planter received as an equivalent for his ruined land? Why, in most cases, nothing but an increased number of negroes, who now consume the almost entire production of his worn out land. And a few years more, going on at this rate, he must either remove West, be sold out by the Sheriff, or live in extreme poverty.”

This recklessness and indifference as to the soil, has, no doubt, arisen from the facility with which land has been hitherto obtained by the planters of the country. It has been already mentioned, in the

history of Georgia, that 100,000 square miles of territory were ceded by the legislature of this State to the general government, soon after the incorporation of the several States into the Union, for the purpose of forming the two new States of Alabama and Mississippi; the whole of which tract had been previously purchased by land-speculators for 100,000 dollars, or one dollar for a square mile!

The general government undertook to compensate these speculators for the loss of their bargain, and to extinguish also all the Indian titles to the Cherokee lands within the limits of the newly circumscribed state of Georgia. Several hundred thousand acres being thus left at their disposal, a lottery was formed of the whole, and they were thus distributed:—First, a survey was made of all these lands; then they were marked off into townships and sections, and numbered in consecutive order. Each section of 160 acres was designated by a particular number, and tickets corresponding to these numbers were put into a wheel, as into any ordinary lottery. Every person residing in Georgia, at the time of the drawing, who had been living six months in the State, was entitled to a draw, if a single man or single woman; and every married man had a draw for himself, his wife, and each of his children, however many, and however young; and there were sections enough for all. Accordingly, men of large families, and who were fortunate in obtaining lands in a good position, were made rich; there were no blanks, except that some sections were sandy, others marshy, and others woody, and therefore worth less than others; but as nothing was paid for the privilege of a draw, no one could lose by

such a lottery. * As there were known to be many, however, who if they drew good lands would have no capital to work them, but would be obliged to sell out, it was not difficult to speculate upon their shares ; and accordingly, land jobbers from the north went about and bought up men's chances for a small sum, never paying more than 50 dollars, and getting many for 5 dollars, by which large fortunes were made in this way. One gentleman told me that he sold a lot which came to him through this lottery for 500 dollars, within a week after he had drawn it ; others had cultivated their lots, and these were now worth 20 dollars an acre, or upwards of 3,000 dollars per lot. These fluctuations of fortune produced, as lotteries everywhere have done, a spirit of speculation and gambling, which it is easy to engender but very difficult to subdue ; and the effects of this continue to the present day, in speculations, jobbing, and lotteries, of which Augusta is still full.

In approaching the river, as we descended from the top of Snow Hill towards the stream, we passed through a thick forest, in which were a great variety of trees. Of these, there were several varieties of oak—the white, the black, the walnut, and the willow oak. There are said to be no less than 44 species of the oak in America, between the latitude of 20° and 48° N. while in all Europe, Asia, and Africa, there are reckoned only 30 species, found on both sides of the equator, and as far as 60° N. The live-oak, or *quercus sempervirens*, is the most valuable of all these, but is fast diminishing in numbers. Georgia, Florida, and Louisiana supply the best, and these near the sea-coast, and within 50 miles of the

shore. It is extremely hard, difficult to work, and so heavy as to sink in the water when green, but it is almost imperishable, and is therefore most valuable for ship-building. Its crooked branches furnish excellent knees for vessels; and for this, rather than for timbers or for plank, it is generally used. The demand for this wood, in building the finest American ships, has so trenched upon the supply, that the price has more than doubled within the last twenty years, and the trees are so fast diminishing, that it is thought in fifty years more they will be all used up.

It is remarkable that the southern shores of France and Italy were once skirted with the evergreen or live oak, but they have entirely disappeared from use as large trees, and are now only known as a small stunted shrub, the *quercus ilex*. The swamp white oak, or *quercus aquatica*, grows to the largest size, from 80 to 100 feet high, but this is a deciduous tree; as is also the black, the yellow, and the post oak. Of the former, the timber is used for beams and planks in ship-building; the latter has its name from its being suitable to posts, piles, and other uses requiring the immersion of the wood in mud or water, where it is less affected by decay than any other species. All the forest trees of America are of taller growth than the trees of Europe; for while, according to Michaux, only 37 species of trees in France reach the height of 30 feet, there are no less than 130 different species in America that reach and exceed this elevation.

The walnut is another fine tree, of which we saw many in the woods here. Of these there are ten distinct species, though most of them are called by

the general name of hickory. The wood is coarse and open, and not well adapted for building, as it is subject to be soon worm-eaten. It is used for hoops of casks and boxes, and large quantities are exported to the West Indies. While the young trees are used for this purpose, the old ones are consumed for fuel, as they contain a larger quantity of combustible matter, and give out a stronger heat, than most other woods. The vast consumption of hoops and fuel in the United States, bids fair to work up all these trees in a comparatively short space of time, more especially as they are of slow growth, and do not sprout twice from the same root. The black walnut is the finest of all the species, and its wood is used for ornamental furniture, resembling, when rubbed with a solution of nitric acid, the finest mahogany.

The Georgia pitch-pine is abundant, and it is a highly valuable tree. This is called by a great variety of names, such as the southern, the red, the brown, the yellow, and the long-leaved pine; but they all indicate the same kind of tree. It is found chiefly in what are called pine-barrens, and on the edge of swamps. It rises to the height of from sixty to seventy feet, and varies in diameter from fifteen to eighteen inches. The timber of this pine is more compact and durable than that of any other species, and it is found in the greatest perfection in Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia and Florida. Besides its use for masts and spars for ships, and for purposes of building generally, it supplies all the resinous matter used in the United States, and affords a large quantity also for exportation to Europe.

Throughout all the lower parts of Carolina, Geor-

gia and Florida, tar was formerly made in great quantities from the pitch-pine, but at present this has given way to other occupations, and North Carolina is now the chief seat of this manufacture—large shipments being made from Wilmington. It is said that when the northern States were first settled, the pitch-pine abounded there also ; but these were exhausted in about thirty years of time, by the use made of them for building, fuel, and tar ; and it is now more than sixty years since they have ceased to exist in any large quantities. There are still millions of acres covered with forests of this pine, in the south and west, though they cannot now be made use of from want of ready communication with the sea ; but time will develope all this, and they too will gradually disappear.

Amidst the great variety of trees which filled the forest, it was curious to observe the number of grape vines springing from the ground, twisting themselves around trees of every kind and size, and winding round their branches from the root to the summit. Some of these vines had trunks of a foot in diameter. They are thought to grow with the growth of the trees to which they attach themselves, so that the parasite is coeval with the trunk round which it winds ; and this can alone account for the singular positions and combinations in which they are seen. Very few of these vines produce any fruit, and when any are seen they are found to be a small round grape, like the wild black cherry, sour, bitter and harsh to the taste, though it is said that by fermentation tolerable wine has been obtained from them. They appear to bear the same relation to the grape

of the vineyard in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, as the wild crab-apple does to the more perfect fruit of the orchard and garden. There are many other descriptions of vines, some of which produce better grapes, and furnish abundant food to the birds inhabiting the woods.

Among the animals most frequently seen here, are the opossum and the racoon, both of which are hunted for sport by the country people, and the flesh of both is eaten occasionally by the negroes. The opossums usually inhabit the hollow trunks of large trees in a state of decay, where they remain asleep during the day-time, and leave their haunts at night in search of food. The approach of winter is the period when the hunting of them commences, and the sportsmen then go out at night for this purpose. The opossum, when pursued, gets into a tree, and coils himself away in the hollow of the trunk, or on an angle of a diverging branch shooting from it, so as hardly to be seen. The dogs, however, scent him there, and keep up an incessant barking, while the hunter ascends the tree, dislodges him by shaking, and after several leaps from limb to limb, he gradually succeeds in forcing him to fall to the ground. He then rolls himself up, and puts on the appearance of being perfectly dead, a disguise which he so well assumes, that he is often left, after several stabs and blows, as really so. His pursuers are scarcely out of his sight, however, before he is seen gradually unfolding himself and silently stealing away; but if a noise or shouting apprizes him that he is seen, or a pursuit is renewed, he instantly resumes his dead appearance, and counterfeits it so well as to deceive all but the

most experienced. This habit of the animal has given rise to the common saying of a man or boy "playing 'possum," when they pretend to be sick or asleep, or put on, in short, any fictitious appearance to deceive. The racoon unites a mischievous and vindictive disposition with his cunning ; and he too, like the opossum, is usually found abroad at night. It preys, like the fox, on the poultry of farm-yards, destroying what it cannot consume ; and like the fox, its skin is valuable for its fur, which is much used in the manufacture of the caps and hats in the country.

When we wound our way up from the river through the forest a second time, we saw the cactus or prickly pear, though it does not grow here to the size which it attains in Palestine or in India. The holly-bush was also abundant. The Cherokee plum, now putting forth its blossoms, was like the black-thorn of England in May, and produces a small, round, harsh, and sour fruit, like the sloe. Bramble-bushes with blackberries, were also abundant ; and we saw a species of myrtle, on which grows a berry that is extremely unctuous and inflammable, and is often used by the people of the country for lights. The wax plant is also found in most of these shady woods, every part of which, except the root, has the appearance of wax prepared in the most delicate and perfect manner.

Another excursion that I made during my stay in Augusta was, to the town of Hamburgh, on the Carolina side of the Savannah river. This town was begun and named by a German merchant now living, who has expended too liberally for his means

in the promotion of his favourite object; but the town has now attained to sufficient standing to go forward without further adventitious aids. It is here that the railroad from Augusta to Charleston commences, and has its depôt; and from hence also large shipments of Carolina cotton takes place for transporting down to the port of destination by the river.

The plan of Hamburgh exhibits streets of great breadth and regularity; and there are stores, hotels, banks, and all the auxiliaries of a rising and prosperous settlement. In the rear of the town is a natural hill, from 50 to 60 feet above the general level, called Liberty Hill, where the Americans were posted at the revolutionary war, when they obliged the English forces to evacuate Augusta. From this hill the finest views of the town of Hamburgh and the city of Augusta, on the opposite side of the river, are to be had. The top of the hill has been excavated with a ditch surrounding the upper mound; and large beams of wood have been placed, to form flights of steps for ascending to the summit. All this I was told was the work of the German gentleman before alluded to, who became so infatuated about his pet town, that he seemed to wish to imitate the style and state of a petty German prince; for he called this his castle, and employed several Germans of the humbler classes, with muskets and bayonets, to mount guard upon the fortress, and even to warn persons off who were approaching it, a folly that has still further encroached upon his means, and left him now as much embarrassed as

any of the German princes whose state he was so desirous of imitating.

In our ramble through Hamburg I was shown two houses, to which negro slaves are brought for sale from Virginia; and being purchased here by slave-dealers, they are taken on to the South-western States for a higher market. In Virginia, the soil has been so much exhausted, by the cultivation of tobacco, that thousands of acres are now unproductive, and unsuited for any tillage. The wealth of the planter who owns such lands, consists therefore chiefly, if not entirely, in his negroes. These are regularly bred and multiplied for sale, like cattle; and as the progeny increases, the more saleable portions are selected, and brought on to the South, or sent to the slave-market at Washington, or sometimes sold in Virginia itself. They are thus passed on from the State where their labour is not in demand, to the rising states and territories, in which labour is in request; and accordingly, in the Augusta papers, as in the Washington journals, every day are to be seen advertisements, offering "Cash for likely negroes."

A slave-trade is thus carried on throughout the Southern States, under the gentle name of the "removal of slaves from one state to another;" and though this is not attended with all the horrors and cruelties of the "Middle Passage," which characterized the Atlantic slave-trade of former times, yet it leads to the separation of husband and wife, of parents and children, and brothers and sisters, without the most distant hope of their ever meeting again;

and from all the information I could obtain on this subject, the negroes feel these separations as acutely as any whites could do, and are unhappy for years afterwards.

Here, however, as everywhere throughout the South, slavery is a topic upon which no man, and, above all, a foreigner, can open his lips without imminent personal danger, unless it is to defend and uphold the system. Then, indeed, he may speak as freely as he pleases ; but if it is even to doubt whether slavery be on the whole either just or profitable, he is sure to be assailed with imputations of being an incendiary, of desiring to incite the slaves to rebellion, to bring about the massacre of the whites and the annihilation of their property. The violence of the measures taken against the few who from time to time venture to express themselves in favour of Abolition, is such as to strike terror into others ; and thus all public discussion of the question is as effectually suppressed, as if there were a censorship of the press, or a holy inquisition. I feel assured that it would not be so dangerous for a man to preach the right of resistance to despotic authority in Petersburg or Vienna, to inveigh against popery at Rome, or to denounce Mohammedanism at Constantinople, as it would be for him to proclaim himself, either by his pen or by his tongue, as an Abolitionist in the slave-holding States south of the Potomacs in America ; and yet, to tell the Americans that they have neither freedom of the press nor freedom of speech, to the extent to which both are enjoyed in England, would greatly offend as well as surprise them, though nothing could be more true.

To form an idea of the horror with which the very name of an Abolitionist is regarded ; and to see how men who avow themselves to be opposed to slavery in the abstract, shrink from such an imputation as that of being favourable to Abolition in practice it is only necessary to read the report of any proceedings in Congress at Washington in connexion with this subject: To those of the American nation who think Mr. O'Connell "foul-mouthed," and complain of the coarseness of vituperation with which he speaks of slave-holders and slave-breeders in the United States, the language used in the debates of their own House of Representatives, may be held up as a mirror, in which they may see a portrait as revolting, to say the least, as any that Mr. O'Connell ever presented of themselves.

I am no apologist for vituperation, under any degree of injury or excitement ; because I think it degrades the person using it, be he of what nation, sect, or of party he may. But if it be an offence in one man to speak strongly when he denounces a system which he believes to be cruel and unjust as well as impolitic, it is equally reprehensible in others to follow the same course. But the Americans are not the only people to whom the prayer of Burns is peculiarly applicable ; for almost every nation under the sun might profit by it if such a prayer could be granted to them ; when the poet says.

"O that the gods the gift would gi' us,
To see oursels as others see us !"

The subject of a direct trade between the Southern States and Europe, without the intervention of the

Northern States, through which that trade is now almost entirely carried on, has been recently agitated in Augusta, as well as in Charleston, and is still indeed under discussion in most private circles, having already been the subject of a public convention. The planters and merchants of the interior, however, are not so eager on this subject as those of the sea-ports, because their interests are not so deeply involved. They dispose of their cotton to buyers here, or at the ports on the coast, and trouble themselves no further, as they find all the supplies they want in the stores of the towns at which their sales are made ; but the ship-owners and merchants of the coast naturally look with jealousy on a state of things which leads to the importation of all their European supplies through the ports of the North. It is certain that three-fourths of the exports of America are from the South-western States ; the cotton, rice, and tobacco of which, as well as flour, hemp, and rice, go to all the countries of Europe ; yet the imports, in return for all this, come in by way of New York : so that when the imports of the whole United States amounted to 190 millions of dollars, the share of the importation that fell to the South-western States was only 20 millions. Georgia and South Carolina alone export to the value of about 24 millions, yet the united imports of both amount to only 4 millions ; all the rest being imported first into New York and other northern ports, direct from Europe, and thence indirectly brought to the south, thus increasing the cost to the consumer.

The close of my labours at Augusta, was the delivery of a public address on the subject of Tempe-

rance, in the Presbyterian Church, the largest in the city, on the evening of Sunday the 4th of March. It was very fully attended, and the impression appeared to be favourable, the inhabitants of this city being much in advance of those of Charleston and Savannah on this subject; for with a similar extent of population to Savannah, where there are 125 licensed spirit-dealers, there are in Augusta less than 50; and while much less spirits are consumed by the lower classes, much less wine is also drank by the higher.

On the whole, our visit to Augusta was very satisfactory. The city is handsome, the surrounding country picturesque, the resident families intelligent, hospitable, and agreeable; while everything indicates great present wealth and comfort, and promises great future opulence. It may be doubted whether there is any town in Great Britain, containing only a population of 5,000 whites, that has so much of wealth, industry, and enterprise, combined with such excellent public and private buildings, and means of education and improvement, as Augusta.

CHAP. XII.

Departure from Augusta for Warrenton—Badness of the road—
—Snow; suffering from cold—Sparta—Milledgeville, legisla-
tive capital—Night journey to Macon; description of Macon;
history and locality—Plan of the city and public buildings
—Georgia Female College—Churches and sects—Hard-shell
Baptists—Universalists—Culture of cotton lands—Employment
of slave-labour—Comparative condition of domestic and field
slaves—Great disadvantage of slavery to the planters—*Morus
multicaulis*—Periodical journals devoted to the silk question—
Premiums offered for the production of silk—Incendiaries—
Method of slaves taking revenge—Bowie-knife vengeance by a
judge—Newspapers—Indian mounds—Country-people—His-
tory of Solomon Humphries, an opulent free-negro—Contrast
with white slavery in English factories—Specimen of Georgian
poetry and Georgian feeling—Scenery of the northern part of
the State—Impressive sermon against the love of wealth—
Working of the voluntary system.

ON Monday the 4th of March we left Augusta for Macon, on our way to Mobile and New Orleans, wishing to see the interior of Georgia and Alabama, and finish our examination of the Southern States before the approach of the hot weather. We had to set out at six o'clock, and go by a railroad from hence to Warrenton, a distance of about fifty miles. The cars were much inferior in their accommodation and fittings to those on the northern railroads, and our speed did not exceed fifteen miles in the hour. On reaching the end of the railroad at Warrenton, we had to take the stage-coach, and were fortunately able to engage the whole of it for our party, or to "charter" it, as the expression is here, keeping up

the maritime phraseology, by which the conductor is called "the pilot," and the sound of "all aboard" announces that the engine may move on, as all the passengers are in the cars. Our fare by the railroad, fifty miles, was $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars each, or about ten shillings sterling; and for the whole stage, large enough for nine passengers, we paid 48 dollars, or about £10 sterling, for 75 miles; 45 from Warrenton to Milledgeville, and 30 from thence to Macon.

The weather was intensely cold; the branches of the trees on each side of our way being covered with frost, long icicles of three or four feet hanging from the rails and fences, at least an inch in diameter at the root; and before noon, the snow began to descend copiously. We were not sufficiently prepared for this extreme cold, and therefore suffered greatly, the coaches being open at the sides for summer use, and merely closed in with painted canvass, or oil-cloth, for winter, but so loosely as to let in the cold air in every part. We rode for the greater part of the way with the windows closed and curtains drawn, and even then longed for a supply of warmer clothing.

Our road lay almost wholly through dense pine-forests; and the constant succession of these trees, with scarcely any other variety, made the way gloomy and monotonous. The road itself was the worst we had ever yet travelled over, it being formed apparently by the mere removal of the requisite number of trees to open a path through the forest, and then left without any kind of labour being employed, either to make the road solid in the first instance, or to keep it in repair. We were, accordingly, sometimes half up to the axletree in loose sand, sometimes

still deeper immersed in a running brook, or soft swamp, and occasionally so shaken and tossed from seat to roof, and side to side, from the pitching and rolling of the coach, that it seemed to me the motion was more violent and excessive than that of the smallest vessel in the heaviest sea. We were all, in short, bruised and beaten by the blows we received from these sudden jolts and pitchings, so as to suffer severely ; and this, added to the pinching cold, made our journey extremely disagreeable.

About two o'clock we reached the village of Sparta, there being also a Rome and an Athens in the same State ; the former on the Etawah river in Floyd County, and the latter on the Big Sandy Creek, near Hermon, in Clark County, not far from the Land of Goshen, which is close to Edinburgh, Lincoln, Lisbon, Petersburg, and Vienna, so strange are the juxtapositions of names on an American map. We halted at Sparta to dine ; but the sight of the public table prepared for the passengers was so revolting, that, hungry as we were after our long and cold ride, early rising, and violent motion, we turned away in disgust from the table, and made our dinner in the coach on hard biscuits. There were three lines of coaches on this road, all leaving at the same hour, and arriving at the same time—the Mail line, the Telegraph line, and the People's line. The passengers from each of these took their seats at the table, and many of them appeared to dine as heartily as if they saw nothing unusual in the fare. But the dirty state of the room in which the table was laid, the filthy condition of the table-cloth, the coarse and broken plates, rusty knives and forks, and large

junks of boiled pork, and various messes of corn and rancid butter, added to the coarse and vulgar appearance and manners of most of the guests, made the whole scene the most revolting we had yet witnessed in the country. The ancient Spartans themselves, with their black broth and coarse fare, could not have been farther removed from luxury than these Spartans of modern days ; and one might almost be tempted, from what we saw, to suppose that the modern Spartans affected the manners of the ancient Lacedemonians, in diet at least, to justify the appropriateness of the name they had chosen for their village.

We left Sparta at three o'clock ; and after a cold, dreary, and tedious drive through thick woods and over broken roads, we reached Milledgeville about eight, having been assured before setting out that we should reach there at three. As this is the legislative capital of the State of Georgia, we had hoped to find a good hotel here at least, as the legislative body consists of nearly 400 members, and these all reside here during the few months that the two houses are assembled in annual session. But our hopes were not realized. The inn at which the coach stopped was a wretched one ; and though all we desired to have was a cup of tea and some cold meat for our party, we had the greatest difficulty in getting either. It was our wish to remain here all night, and go on to Macon in the morning ; but on inquiry we found that no private or extra conveyance could be had from hence to Macon in the daytime, for love or money, though this is the seat of the State legislature, and Macon is only thirty miles off.

Three stage-coaches pass through this place, between Augusta and Montgomery, at night, and these are the only conveyances to be had; so that if we did not go on to-night, we could only proceed on the following, there being no conveyance whatever for day-travelling. This was a great disappointment—but we were without a remedy; and so we prepared to go forward, cold and weary as we were. The tea was tardily and reluctantly prepared for us in a bedroom; and it may give some idea of the rudeness with which this was done, to say, that the dirty negress who made the tea, brought the stinted quantity required in the hollow of her hand, without any other receptacle for it—that the milk was placed on the table in a broken tea-cup, milk-cups not being in use—and that when a slop-basin was asked for, the thing was unknown, and a large salad-bowl was brought for that purpose.

We left Milledgeville at nine, and, after a more comfortless ride than we should like to endure again, we did not reach Macon till four in the morning, having been seven hours in performing thirty miles, over roads that would be thought impassable in any part of Europe, and which would break to pieces any description of carriages except the ponderous stage-coaches of this country, which are made as heavy and as strong as the union of wood and iron can make them. One reason assigned for this entire neglect of the public roads, is, that the scantiness of the population along their borders would make any assessment on the lands or the inhabitants, sufficient for this purpose, so burdensome, as to be ruinous to those who had to pay it, and, would, consequently,

drive all the population away from the very track to which it was most desirable to attract them. Another reason is, that railroads are so increasing over every part of the country, that stage-roads will soon be useless, and therefore it would be a waste of money to make or repair them. The wretched state of the ordinary roads thus operates as an additional stimulus to the construction of railroads wherever it is practicable; so that perhaps in a few years from this, there will be a connected series of railroad and steam-boat communication from Maine to Louisiana, and the journey from Portland to New Orleans may be then performed in a few days.

At Macon we found comfortable apartments prepared for us in the Central Hotel; and having, through the influence of a private friend, obtained the rare luxury, in this country, of a private sitting-room, and separate table, we enjoyed our week's stay here extremely. During the week, my lectures were given in the new Presbyterian church, a very handsome building just finished, and they were well attended by the most respectable classes of the community, to whom they gave so much satisfaction as to lead to an arrangement for my returning again to give another course at a more advanced period of the spring.

The town of Macon, or city, as it should be more correctly called, it being incorporated as such, is of very recent origin, as, only fifteen years ago, the ground on which it stands was covered with primeval forest; and not a single dwelling was then erected here. At that period, there was a military station near it, called Fort Hawkins, which was then the

frontier station of the whites, towards the south and west ; the whole of this territory being then occupied by the Creek Indians, while the Cherokees occupied the more northern parts of the State. In the survey of the lands, adverted to in the previous sketch of the history of Georgia, when the Indian titles to large tracts were extinguished by the general government paying to them a compensation or purchase-money for the same, and when the whole was divided into sections and put into a lottery, in which every citizen had a right to a ticket or a draw, certain localities were reserved by the State government of Georgia, for the formation of towns, and this was one of them. Accordingly, the town of Macon, so called after a wealthy citizen of Carolina, was laid out by the state-surveyor, and the ground sold in lots to private purchasers for building. It was soon after incorporated with all the municipal privileges of a city. Since that period it has gone on increasing in wealth and population, till the present year, when it numbers upwards of 8,000 inhabitants, of whom about 5,000 are whites, and 3,000 slaves and coloured people ; and though only fifteen years old, its exports of cotton amounted last year to 5,000,000 dollars, and its imports to 4,000,000 dollars—the surplus of about 2,000,000 dollars being expended in building, in railroads, and various other improvements.

The town is very agreeably and advantageously situated on the western bank of the river Ocmulgee, which joins the river Oconee, farther south, and their junction makes the river Alatomaha, on which the town and port of Darien is situated, within a few

miles of the sea. This river, in its windings goes over a space of 600 miles between Macon and Darien, a length equal to that of all England and Scotland united ! yet Macon is very nearly in the middle of the State of Georgia, it being quite as far from it to the Tennessee river, which is its north-western boundary, as it is to the river St. Mary, or Cumberland Sound, which is its south-eastern boundary on the Atlantic. This extensive area has not more than 600,000 persons yet settled on it, according to the census of the last year, though its fertility and general resources would, no doubt, be sufficient to maintain in comfort, if not in affluence, the whole population of England ; and this will, no doubt, be its ultimate destiny, when its forests are cleared, and all its agricultural, mineral and manufacturing resources are fully developed.

The plan of Macon, like that of nearly all the towns in the United States, is remarkably regular ; the streets run at right angles with each other, and are from 100 to 120 feet in breadth. The houses are mostly of wood ; many of these are spacious and elegant ; and some of the private dwellings are of brick, well built and in good taste. The public edifices are large, well proportioned, and indicative of a rising and prosperous city. The City Hall is among the most prominent of these ; it stands in a fine open space at the end of one of the principal streets, which displays it to great advantage.

A neat market-house, with open colonnade and tower, occupies the middle of the same street, and near this is the Railroad Bank, with a fine Doric portico of fluted pillars ; while the new Presbyterian

Church, with its square tower, completes a very interesting architectural group.

On the west of the town is a rising ground terminating in a hill, about a hundred feet in height, overlooking the town on the east, and having behind it on the west, a pretty valley, beyond which are clusters of villas and cottages, to which the wealthy inhabitants retire in the hot season to sleep, coming into the city for business only. On this hill are several private mansions as large and as handsome as any of those which excited our admiration at New Bedford. On this elevation is now constructing, and nearly completed, an extensive pile for the Female College of Macon. This edifice, which is built of brick and stone, is sufficiently capacious to accommodate 200 boarders, and to educate 200 day-scholars besides ; in addition to this, it has ample accommodation in rooms, for study, recitations, and every other requisite for pupils, with an excellent private dwelling for the master and teachers. Though the building is not yet finished, there are already 150 young ladies, from 10 to 18 years of age, receiving their education there ; and the style of tuition, and range of subjects taught, are not inferior to those of any of the Female Academies of the North. I had an opportunity of conversing with the head master ; and enjoyed the advantages of the services of the Latin, French, and Spanish teachers for my son ; and they appeared to me to be quite as competent to the discharge of their duties as those of the best schools of Europe.

In front of the College is a space of six acres of sloping land, which, as well as the site for the building, was the gift of a Methodist minister, who is also a

merchant in Macon, and which it is intended to lay out as a Botanical Garden for the recreation and improvement of the students. Instruments are also providing, for giving them instruction in chemistry, mineralogy, and astronomy, so that the course of education will be solid and useful, while languages, music, and drawing will make it also ornamental. The whole will be extremely cheap; the English literary and scientific course, including the French language, being only 50 dollars per annum, or £10 sterling. The funds for the erection of the building was raised by the Methodists, who, when the land was given for the site and garden by their minister, organized a committee, and sent agents throughout the State to collect funds by subscriptions or donations. When a considerable amount had been thus raised, so as to ensure the certainty of building a College, the resident inhabitants of Macon began to perceive that it would be to their interest to have a handsome building and an efficient establishment, and they contributed largely also; so that from these united sources, the sum of about 50,000 dollars, or 10,000*l.* sterling, was raised. The State Legislature next chartered a State Bank, on condition of its paying 25,000 dollars towards building the College; and the Methodist minister gave twelve acres of land, worth 36,000 dollars; all of which sums will be spent in its completion. The land, when given by the minister to form the site of the building, was not considered to be worth more than 100 dollars per acre, the ordinary price of cotton farming-land in the surrounding country being 10 dollars per acre. But since the erection of the

College, and the increased demand for building-lots in its vicinity, the value of the land in this locality has so increased, that a gentleman wishing to erect a country mansion on the hill, surrounded by a garden, had to pay 3,000 dollars, or 600*l.* sterling per acre, which, five years ago, might have been had for 100 dollars, and fifteen years ago might have been had for 1½ dollar; so rapid is the increase of value in land by augmented population, and increased demand for it.

Of churches there are five in Macon—Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Universalist. The first three are the largest and most popular. The Baptists are of the order called here “Hard-shelled Baptists,” a phrase which was new to me; and which was given to them, as I understood, from their being so impenetrable to all influences of a benevolent kind, and so hostile to all the auxiliary aids of missions, tract societies, temperance societies, peace societies, sick-visiting societies, and other charitable and philanthropic associations; against all of which they are said to set their faces, and to denounce them as interfering with the free operation of the gospel, and substituting human machinery for apostolic preaching. They are accordingly given to the pleasures of the table without restraint; and one of their veteran preachers here is said to have declared from the pulpit that he would never submit to be deprived of his “worldly comforts” by the fanatics of modern times; and among those comforts he numbered his “honey-dram before breakfast,” and his “mint julap or sling, when the weather required it.”

The Universalists are very few in number, though they are zealous in endeavouring to obtain converts. Of these the following anecdote is told here :—A Universalist preacher assembled a number of the citizens to preach to them a probationary sermon, in which he endeavoured to persuade them that the idea of eternal damnation was wholly unwarranted by Scripture ; and that even temporary punishment after death was not to be expected, as the wicked had their sufferings before they descended to the grave ; and all beyond that would be universal happiness. After this discourse, he told the congregation that he was about to make a journey farther west ; but that in a short time he would return among them again, to ascertain whether they would wish to build him a church, and engage him as their preacher. He returned after a short absence, as promised, and repeated, to the same audience, all his former opinions, desiring, at the close of his discourse, that the assembly would indicate to him, by some means, the resolution they had taken as to his future stay among them. Upon this, an elderly man arose and said, that having listened with deep attention to all that had been uttered by the preacher in his two sermons, he had come to this conclusion—that if all he had stated was *true*, and there was to be no punishment for the wicked after death, he really did not see the use of churches or preachers at all, for the police and the laws were sufficient to deal with criminals while in this world ; but if, on the other hand, what he had been saying was *not* true, then, certainly, he would be a very improper person for their pastor : so that whether his views

were true or false, they should not be disposed to require his further services.

The lands around the town are devoted chiefly to the cultivation of cotton, and 150,000 bales were sent last year from this small town to Savannah and to Darien, for shipment to Europe. The crop was then short, and this year it is said to be still shorter, occasioned by unusual drought, though cotton bears the absence of moisture better than almost any other vegetable production. It is estimated that the crop of this year will fall short of that of last by 300,000 bales, and holders of cotton are therefore averse to sell, though the present price is eighteen cents per pound; while last year, about the same period, it was from nine to twelve cents only. Last year, up to the 1st of March, 86,209 bales had been received in Macon from the surrounding plantations. Up to the 1st of March this year, only 59,924 bales have been received; so that there is a deficiency of 26,285 bales in this town only, as compared with the same period last year; and then the supply was less than the average of many years preceding.

In the cultivation of cotton, the labourers employed are wholly negro slaves; their condition is generally better than that of the slaves employed in the cultivation of rice or sugar, the occupation being more healthy, and the profits admitting of a more liberal allowance of food; though in all other respects, as to clothing, lodging, cleanliness, and education, they are in the same dark, degraded, and hopeless state as the African race generally throughout the Southern States. Here, too, as elsewhere, there is a great difference between the condition

of the field-slaves on the plantations, and the domestic slaves about the houses of respectable families. These last are as well fed and as well clad as the free domestic servants of many countries of Europe, though far inferior to those of England ; but still, even these are wholly uneducated, and entirely without the hope of benefiting their condition by any exertions of industry or economy, to the practice of which they have no conceivable inducement whatever. The field-slaves, being regarded as instruments of production, are maintained with as little cost as possible, compatible with the keeping them in good working condition ; because, in proportion to the great quantity of work got out of them, and the small cost of their maintenance, will be the profit of the planter. He has every motive, therefore, to increase the one, and lessen the other, till he brings each to the point beyond which it is unsafe to carry them. In the domestic service of most private establishments here, there are often more slaves than are necessary for the labour required of them, many being kept for state, or ostentation ; and as the coachman, footman, lady's maid, butler, cook, and other household servants, are continually passing before the eyes of the master and mistress, as well as their visitors and guests, they are almost sure of being well clad and kindly treated, because the sight of dirty and miserable-looking attendants would be painful to those by whom they are surrounded, as well as to themselves.

On this question, of the false economy of employing slave-labour in the cultivation of the land, every thing I heard and saw confirmed me in the opinion,

that it was most injurious to the interests of the planters; and that none would benefit more by a system of free labour than the very landowners themselves. At present, if a planter wishes to purchase an estate for cultivation, he can get 1,000 acres of land for 10,000 dollars; and if he could obtain free labour to till his fields, hiring it by the day, and paying for such labour as he required, and no more, 5,000 dollars would be ample for a reserved capital by which to procure his seed, labour, and stock. But as he must, according to the present system, buy his slaves as well as his land, it will require at least 500 dollars, or £100 sterling, for each working negro that he may need; and supposing only 100 negroes to be purchased, this would require 50,000 dollars to be laid out in the purchase of *prospective* labour, paying for it before he receives the slightest benefit, and under all the risks of sickness, desertion, and death. In this manner, according to the statement of Mr. Clay, in his recent Anti-abolition speech in Congress, there is locked up, of dead capital, in the purchase and cost of the negro slaves of the United States, the enormous sum of twelve hundred millions of dollars, or about two hundred and fifty millions sterling! Now, if slavery had never been permitted to exist here, and labour could have been hired by the day, or week, or year, as in other free countries, this enormous amount of capital would have been available to devote to other purposes; and the whole country would have been advanced at least a century beyond its present condition.

It may be quite true that the African race can alone sustain the exposure to heat and labour com-

bined, which the cultivation of rice, sugar, and cotton, demand; but it is at the same time as true, that their labour might be hired and paid for only as it was employed, instead of the ruinously improvident system of buying up all the labour of their lives, and paying for it beforehand; thus sinking an immense capital in the very country where capital is more valuable, because more productive of wealth, than in any other country that can be named. If a large manufacturer in England, when he had built his mill and fitted his machinery, were required to buy all his working hands at £100 each, and then maintain them all their lives, sick or well, aged or infirm, with the risk of loss by desertion or death, he would be less able to work his mill with £100,000, than he now is with £20,000; and consequently not half or a fourth of the mills now in operation could be established. If a shipowner, when he had built, equipped, and provisioned his ship for her voyage, had to buy up all his seamen at £100 a head, and maintain them all their lives afterwards, it would require four times the capital that is now necessary to send a large ship to sea, and consequently fewer persons could equip vessels. Thus the manufacturing and the shipping interests would both be retarded in their progress by this improvident and heavy burden of paying for a life of labour in advance, instead of paying for it by the week or the month, as its benefits were reaped by them.

Exactly the same effects are produced in retarding the prosperity of agriculture; and thus it is that the old slave-states of Virginia and Maryland are already exhausted. The Carolinas and Georgia are ready partially so; and in process of time this

will be the fate of Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, and the other slave-states ; while those who employ the cheaper, more vigorous, and more productive element of free labour, will outstrip them in the race, from the mere advantage of a better system of industry. While I believe, therefore, that the condition of the slaves would be much improved by their being placed under the influence of those higher and better motives to labour which the enjoyment of the reward of their own toil can alone create, I also believe that the planters would all benefit by the substitution of free-labour for slave-labour, because the former is cheaper and more productive than the latter can ever be made. The slave-owners are indeed their own enemies, in opposing or retarding the emancipation of their labourers.

It is no doubt very difficult to prevail upon a man who has laid out 50,000 dollars in the purchase of 100 negroes, to set them all free, and pay them for their labour by the day ; but it is often wiser to break up a bad system at almost any loss, and substitute a better one, than it is to continue the practice of the old, because of the capital sunk in it, when the new would be so much more profitable. But the competition of free labour in the free states will ultimately render this indispensable ; and the parallel to this may be often seen in the case of manufactures. A manufacturer purchases, at great expense, a machine for producing a certain fabric. He has scarcely got it into full use, before a new discovery is made, of some superior machine, by which the fabric can be produced with much greater rapidity and at much less cost. If he adheres to the use of his old machine,

because of his reluctance to throw away that which cost him so much money, his competitor will soon beat him, by underselling him in price, and surpassing him in quantity and quality. But if he consent to sink his former outlay as a dead loss, and adopt the improvement of his rival, he will keep pace with him at least, and thus live and make a fair share of profit, though the former course could only end in ultimate bankruptcy and ruin. It was so with the small sailing-vessels for rivers, and passage-boats from port to port, when steam-navigation was first introduced. Many of the owners of the old sailing-smacks and vessels, unwilling to throw away what cost them a large sum, continued to sail their vessels against the steamers, and sunk money every trip. The wiser owners laid aside their vessels altogether, to employ steamers in the same trade, and these soon recovered their first loss, and prospered. And so it would be with the owners of slaves, if they were to set them free even without compensation, rid themselves of all the burthen of compulsory maintenance for inefficient work, employ only the hands they wanted, pay them for their labour as they required it, and thus proceed on the same system as the free states, when they would soon equal them in production and prosperity.

Among the new objects to which public attention has been much attracted in Georgia, is the cultivation of the *morus multicaulis*, or Chinese mulberry, for the rearing of silk-worms and the production of silk. It will be remembered that a hundred years ago, in the first settlement of this tract as a British colony, the cultivation and manufacture of silk was

one of the objects which was to be specially encouraged and promoted, the soil and climate having been considered peculiarly favourable for this purpose. The recent introduction of the *morus multicaulis*, with its wonderful powers of re-production and multiplication, has, however, given an entirely new stimulus to this subject. Already there are two monthly periodicals in circulation here, one published in Baltimore, and one in Philadelphia, exclusively devoted to the silk question; there may be others, but these I have seen. Several Silk Societies have been established in different States of the Union: while from Maine to Florida, the *morus multicaulis* is cultivated, advertised for sale in every paper, and hundreds of thousands, or perhaps I might safely say, millions of cuttings disposed of at high prices. One person alone, at Augusta, sold 500,000 cuttings in the course of the last and present year, and realised a profit of 30,000 dollars by his labours; and it seems to have taken the place of the late land speculation, in exciting and occupying the minds of the more active money-getters of the community. On this subject some believe that the hopes entertained are visionary, and others regard them as well-founded, as the following article from the Public Ledger, of Philadelphia, just republished in the Macon papers, will show:—

“We are no very easy believers in *mania*, having observed the fate of some, and read about that of others. Our country was once visited by a *merino sheep mania*.

“Have we now a silk mania? No. Great zeal is now manifested for the cultivation of silk, and mulberry-trees command high prices. But on considering the quantity of silk consumed in the country, the prices paid for it, the increase of demand with

the increase of population and diminution of price, the capacity of our country for producing silk, the profits of the culture at prices much less than those paid for foreign silk, the public utility of the culture in furnishing employment to those who most need it, and the productiveness and early maturity of the Chinese mulberry, which will afford a *silk-producing* plantation in the second year, we can see no *mania* in the prices now paid for mulberry trees. On the contrary, we see that eagerness to obtain them which is founded upon a knowledge of results *demonstrated* to be *easily attainable*. The prices paid for trees in New York, on Saturday last, as noticed by our correspondent in another column, may appear extravagant to those who have not examined the subject. But to those who have experience in the cultivation of silk, and know the productiveness of the Chinese mulberry, these prices are not beyond their value. Trees two years old were sold for four dollars. But the planter of such a tree will find that in autumn, its produce, in trees worth no more than twenty-five cents, will be worth five times this cost, clear of all expenses.

“ But we shall be told that if trees increase so rapidly, the whole country will soon be filled with them. Let us reckon. To produce all the silk now consumed in the United States, would require more trees than the whole stock now in the country would produce for the next five years. But shall we be able to produce silk enough for home consumption? Not in five years. But we venture to predict that in ten years we shall supply ourselves, and export largely to England of raw silk for her manufacturers. The Middle, Southern, and Western States, equal China for the production of silk, and therefore excel any part of Europe. Then what should prevent silk from becoming one of our exports? About forty-five years since, many thought that the United States could not produce *cotton*. Let cultivators of silk remember this, and persevere. We see no *mania* yet, in the eagerness of farmers to purchase mulberry-trees for silk orchards. When we do, we shall cry aloud and spare not, for we have no great respect for delusions.”

It is clear, however, that great efforts are making to try the experiment on such a scale as shall deter-

mine, by its results, how far the cultivation may be carried on to general advantage, and of the proceedings of the various Societies established for this purpose, the following may serve as a specimen, taken from the Macon Sentinel :—

Premiums for the Production of Silk.—The executive committee of the American Silk Society, in accordance with the constitution of the said Society, offer the following premiums, viz. :

“1st. For the greatest quantity of merchantable raw silk, produced by any individual, from cocoons of his or her own raising during the year 1839, one hundred dollars, or plate of that value, at their option.

“2d. To the person or association who shall make the greatest quantity of merchantable raw silk from one-fourth of an acre of ground, the trees of which shall have been planted in the year 1839, two hundred dollars, or plate of that value, at their option.

“3d. To the person or association who shall make the second greatest quantity of merchantable raw silk from one-fourth of an acre of ground, the trees of which shall have been planted in the year 1839, one hundred and fifty dollars, or plate, at their option.

“4th. For the best pound of sewing silk, made from cocoons of the competitors’ own raising, in 1839, fifty dollars, or plate of that value, at their option.

“5th. For the second best pound of sewing silk, made from cocoons of the competitors’ own raising in 1839, thirty dollars, or plate of that value, at their option.

“Five pounds of the silk offered for the first premium, and the whole quantity produced for the other four premiums, must be deposited with James O. Law, Treasurer of the American Silk Society, in Baltimore, previous to the next annual meeting of the Society, which takes place on the 11th December, 1839.

“GIDEON B. SMITH, Cor. Sec. American Silk Society.”

New as Macon is, as a city, I was told that there had been already several attempts to set it on fire by incendiaries—two of which occurred in the last year only; and the general supposition was, that these attempts were made by dissatisfied slaves, who either

hoped to be able to realise something by plunder, and effect their escape, or else to avenge themselves on their masters for real or fancied ill treatment. It may be numbered among the many disadvantages of slavery, that the master or owner loses one of the strongest holds that an employer has over a free domestic. If the servant in a free country behaves ill, the master can discharge him ; and the servant is thus punished for his fault by want of employment, the fear of which is sufficient to keep him, generally, in a state of obedience and anxious desire to please. The slave-owner, however, has no such remedy ; he cannot threaten to discharge a slave as a punishment, because this would be to give the slave that which he most desires, his freedom ; and the fear of his taking this, by running away, is often so great on the part of the master, that he is prevented from inflicting punishment to the extent he might desire, lest the slave should abscond, or take a sulky fit and not work, or poison some of the family, or set fire to the dwelling, or have recourse to any other mode of avenging himself. Among domestic slaves, all this would be perfectly easy ; and therefore masters are slow to irritate or offend them by much severity : but as the facilities for such modes of vengeance are fewer among the field-slaves, these are not so much dreaded, and therefore they are made to feel the full force of the owner's displeasure. That vindictiveness should seem a virtue, and not a crime, in the eyes of an uneducated and oppressed slave, who can wonder, when the higher classes among the Southern gentlemen set such examples of its practice, as in the case of the Speaker of the House of Assembly in Arkansas murdering a member on the floor of the

hall of legislature during the last year. Scarcely a month passes in the south-western States without some such scenes and examples.

There are three newspapers in Macon—the Telegraph, the Messenger, and the Southern Post; each published once a week; and a religious journal published once a month. The political papers are divided into State Rights, and Unionists; which division is here deemed of greater importance than that of Whig and Democrat. The mayor of the city, who is also president of one of the banks, and a merchant dealing largely in cotton, is the editor of one; and they are each conducted with as much of ability, and somewhat more of moderation and fairness, than the northern prints of the smaller towns generally. The newspapers of Georgia, however, are not behind those of the older States in the love of personal abuse; and though they do not appear often to originate articles of this description, the readiness with which they appear to copy them from other journals, when the object of the personality is a political opponent, or belongs to the other party, sufficiently proves their vitiated taste, in the encouragement of virulence and scurrility,

The difficulties in the way of getting payments both for newspapers by subscribers, and for insertions by advertisers, are said to be greater and greater as you advance south; the charges for both are, accordingly, much higher than in the north, as indeed they are for every description of labour, goods, or accommodation; but the vast amount lost by bad debts makes this necessary, and thus the punctual and the honest are made here, as elsewhere, to pay for the defaults of the careless and the unprincipled.

In the neighbourhood of Macon, on the opposite side of the river to that on which the town is built, are several mounds of different sizes, all of higher antiquity than the date of the earliest settlement here, which are believed to have been thrown up by the Creek Indians, or, as some suppose, by a race anterior even to them. They must be several hundred years old, at least, as on some of them are trees of a very large size, evidently grown there since the mounds were formed. Whether they were for purposes of fortification, or of burial, or of both, it is not easy to determine. In the midst of them is the spot originally occupied as Fort Hawkins, when this was the frontier post to the south-west of the white settlers in Georgia; and from its summit a commanding view of Macon and the surrounding country is enjoyed.

In making our excursion to this and some other places in the neighbourhood, we saw many of the country people coming into town; some on horseback, some in waggons, and some on foot. They were in general as primitive in their dress as the farmers of the remotest parts of England and Wales a century ago, as far as we can judge of these by the pictures and prints of their costume: single-breasted coats without collars, broad-brimmed and low-crowned hats, and grey hair floating in loose locks over the shoulders, were among their peculiarities; and in their conversation they were as rough as in their appearance. They are called by the town's-people, "Crackers," from the frequency with which they crack their large whips, as if they derived a peculiar pleasure from the sound; and in a local little volume, entitled "Georgia Scenes," which I had the opportunity of perusing while in Macon, and which are said to be

drawn to the life, it is clear that the manners of the planters in the interior, are generally dissipated, their language coarse, and their amusements as barbarous as they were in England three or four centuries ago. The appearance, indeed, of nearly all the men we saw from the country, as well as those travelling to and fro on the road as passengers by the stages, was reckless, dirty, dissipated, and vulgar, and greatly inferior to that of the American men seen in the Atlantic cities, from Savannah to Boston—especially those of the South.

In the course of our ride to and from the Indian mounds, we passed the dwelling of a free negro, named Solomon Humphries, whose history, as related to us by persons who had known him for years, was sufficiently remarkable to be detailed. He was originally a slave to a Georgia planter; but being a person of more than usual intelligence, activity, and probity, he was entrusted with confidential employments, and had special privileges granted to him. By these means he contrived to scrape together, bit by bit, the means of placing a small sum out at interest, and by the increase of this, with some fortunate purchases and sales, he acquired money enough to buy his own freedom. This being obtained, he commenced business on his own account, as a general dealer in such commodities as could be turned to profit. Being punctually honest in fulfilling his engagements, he was readily trusted beyond his actual means, and thus soon acquired money enough to buy the freedom of such of his own family and kindred as were near to him. Every year his exertions were well rewarded, till he at length got rich; and though

unable to read or write himself, the laws of the Southern States forbidding the teaching of slaves to do either, he obtained the services of two white clerks, who kept his books and wrote and replied to his letters ; till, by his skill and integrity, he acquired as large a credit as any merchant in the South. One gentleman of Macon assured me that he had given him credit for 10,000 dollars' worth of goods at a time, and was never under any anxiety as to its ultimate payment, and others dealt with him on the same scale.

The merchants and traders of the North with whom he dealt and corresponded, always paid him a visit when they came South for business or pleasure ; and as he kept an excellent house, with abundance of servants, and good fare, he very often entertained a large party of white persons at dinner, giving them choice dishes and excellent wines. He never ventured, however, to seat himself at the table, but waited on his guests, superintending and directing the details of the feast, which these white persons condescended to receive and enjoy at his hands, though they would have thought it an indignity offered to them if the giver of the entertainment, whose bounty they so unscrupulously enjoyed, should have dared to place himself at the head of his own board ! So revolting to every sense of propriety and justice are the notions and associations engendered by this prejudice of colour and caste ! This negro is still in comfortable circumstances, and still trades with the whites as before ; but he is no longer opulent, as his two white clerks, for whose engagements he made himself responsible, entered into

wild speculations with his funds, and squandered, in profligacy and dissipation, the profits of his concern, which he was obliged to contract in its operations, and carry on by himself, to avoid ultimate bankruptcy and ruin.

The case of this negro is constantly referred to as a proof that, after all, the African race is not so ill treated as the Abolitionists assert, and that, on the whole, their condition is better than that of the poor whites; it being forgotten, that if it were not for the benumbing influence of slavery, hundreds of instances similar to that of the negro adverted to, would be perpetually occurring; but the great difficulty being to get the first step, namely, to accumulate sufficient to purchase their freedom, they cannot get over this, and therefore cannot accomplish the rest. Here, too, as everywhere else that we had yet seen throughout the South, the state of the peasantry in Ireland, and of the children in the manufactories of England, and of the free States of the North, were continually pointed at, as worse than that of the slaves engaged in cultivation; forgetting, that supposing this to be true, one wrong can never justify another, and that all these conditions equally demanded reform. An article which appeared in one of the Georgia papers during our stay here, the "Daily Georgian," of Savannah, expresses this sentiment so fully and unequivocally, that it may be given entire, as an exact index of the general feeling here on this subject. The article is headed, "White Slavery," and proceeds thus :—

"The factory system which flourishes in the Eastern States, under the very auspices of those who are most fanatical in their

zeal to emancipate the African race, and give them all the rights enjoyed by the white citizens of this republic, is one fraught with abominations. Yet these zealous reformers overlook what is at their own doors, and stretch forth their organ of vision, to penetrate that which their disordered fancy pictures as existing at a distance.

“We, of the South, know comparatively little of the sufferings of the countless number of poor infants who toil from year to year, in these establishments, deprived in a great measure of both the air and light of heaven. The subject, however, is better understood in England, where the heartless system of inuring weakly children to perpetual labour originated. When we reflect that these innocent babes are, by the improvidence or poverty of their parents, let out to hire, at a period of life when they should, by right, be imbibing the principles of Christianity, and receiving at least the rudiments of an English education, we may well say that this system is at once subversive of morals and religion. Is it not, then, strange, that when the *soi-disant* philanthropists of England, and of America, were searching for blemishes in the face of society, and busy in endeavouring to uproot what they considered the great evils of the social system, they should be blind (not to say culpable) enough to pass over the worse than Egyptian bondage of so large a portion of their own race and colour, and be entirely destitute of charity for the tender and youthful beings, who, for a miserable pittance, were wasting their infant strength in adding to the store of luxuries for the opulent. No—all the tears flowed for the imaginary sufferings of the well-fed and contented descendant of Ham, whose life rolls on without care or sorrow, and who works with cheerfulness his daily task, happier in many instances than his master,—is well clothed in health, well nursed in sickness, and well taken care of in old age. Could our words reach the ears of the misguided people who are so much imposed on by the arch-leaders of the abolition movement, we would beg them to free the *White Slaves* of Great Britain, and of the manufacturing States of the North, before they interfere in the domestic institutions of the South. All the evils they complain of, as existing amongst us, may be found in bold relief, by examining the state of thralldom in which the factory

children are held, from the cradle to the tomb. Education is to them a dead letter—and religion can afford them little consolation. The ignorance in which they are brought up renders them almost incapable of appreciating the divine lessons of the gospel—even if their weary limbs, aching from the incessant work of a week, enables them to visit the temple of God on the Sabbath day. Ye who are Christians, and call yourselves philanthropists, look to this. Here is work for you. Commence to plough the stubble of this field, and all those who are lovers of rational freedom will cheer you on, and you will exhibit a convincing proof of your sincerity.

“We were induced to make these remarks, on perusing, in an English paper, the following article. It is peculiarly acceptable at the present time, and shows the great misery of the labouring classes, as well as the pharisaical spirit that animates the Abolitionists generally.”

An article is then given from an English paper, entitled “*Infant Labour in English Factories* ;” and because this blot stains the picture of English humanity, therefore it is sought to be inferred that slavery in America is no blot at all ! Such are the delusions which prejudice leads men to practice—first, on themselves, and then on each other ! How much more would the true freedom and happiness of the human race be advanced, if, instead of clinging to abuses, because they are practised by our own country, and denouncing evils because they belong to some other, we followed the more catholic practice of calling evil, evil—and good, good—wherever either existed ; thus placing the Inquisition of Spain, the bow-string of Constantinople, the knout of Russia, the conscription of France, the impressment of England, the white Slavery of the factory, and the black Slavery of the field—all on the same footing ; condemning all, because oppressive, and seeking

to remove all, as obstacles to the happiness of the great human family, without stopping to inquire by what nation they are practised, for the sake of palliation if by one, or for severer censure if by another. Instead of this, there are many who can feel the highest admiration for liberty, when they are themselves in the enjoyment of that blessing, but think nothing of the wrongs of those that are without it; and as a specimen at once of Georgia talent, and Georgia feeling of this description, I subjoin the following lines from the “Augusta Mirror:”—

G E O R G I A.

My native State ! my cherish'd home !
 Hallow'd alike by smile and tear,
 May glory o'er thee build her dome,
 And fame her temples rear :
 I love thee for thy burning sky,
 ' Neath which my feet have ever trod ;
 I love thee for the forms that lie
 Cold, cold beneath thy sod.

O ! gladly do I see the light
 That hovers round thy fortunes now—
 The spirit that must soon unite
 The sea and mountain's brow—
 The iron ties that soon will bind,
 In one indissoluble band,
 Place unto place, and mind to mind,
 Within thy wide-spread land !

In vain doth wild fanatic zeal
*Thy institutions all condemn :**
 On us be every wo or weal
 That emanates from them ;

* Slavery is usually called here “our peculiar institutions”

To those who would thy ways molest,
Who'd gladly spoil thy verdant scene,
Be this response: "What God hath bless'd
That call not ye unclean."

Art thou not bless'd, my cherish'd home?
Thy sons are true, thy daughters fair;
From mountain's crest to ocean's foam
Thy land is free from care:
Wealth glitters in thy golden mines,
Health lives amid thy hills of blue,
Religion's light above thee shines,
And Plenty smiles here too.

Ay, there are hearts within thy land
As warm, and brave, and pure, and free,
As throb'd among the Spartan band
Of old Thermopylæ;
And like that band, should foes invade,
*To seek thy rights from thee to tear,**
Thy sons will lift the sheathless blade,
And bid them come who dare!

As cluster'd in the days of yore
Thy heroes 'neath the "stripes and stars,"
Unmindful of the sea of gore,
And heedless of their scars:
So evermore that banner round,
In hours of peace, or days of strife,
Shall be thy gallant children found,
To guard it with their life.

God bless it! may its spangled wreath
Be ne'er disgraced by sons of thine;
Still may they cling its folds beneath,
In one unbroken line;

* Meaning "the right to hold others in slavery."

And still in ages yet untold
 As brightly beam its glory's sheen
 As when it waved, with scanty fold,
 Above the old Thirteen !

My native State ! my cherish'd home !
 Hallow'd alike by smile and tear,
 May glory o'er thee build her dome,
 And fame her temples rear ;
 One hope is to my heart most dear—
 One boon at Fortune's hand I crave :
 Fate made me date my being *here*—
 Let fate make here my grave.

Savannah.

R. M. C.

Let us do justice, however, to that large portion of the American people, who are as hostile to the continuance of Slavery in any portion of their country, as this poet of the South is for its continuance. Such are all the Abolitionists of the North, numbering in their ranks many men and women who would be ornaments of any country on the globe. Among the first, it is enough to name Dr. Channing, whose reputation is as high in Europe as it is in America ; and among the second, it is sufficient to name Mrs. Sigourney, the poetess of New England, whose lines on Slavery may be fitly introduced, as a pendant to those of the young Georgian bard :—

SLAVERY.

“ Slavery is a dark shade on the map of the United States.”—*La Fayette.*

(Written for the Celebration of the Fourth of July.)

We have a goodly clime,
 Broad vales and streams we boast,
 Our mountain frontiers frown sublime,
 Old Ocean guards our coasts ;—

Suns bless our harvest fair,
With fervid smiles serene,
But a dark shade is gathering there—
What can its blackness mean ?

We have a birthright proud,
For our young sons to claim—
An eagle soaring o'er the cloud,
In freedom and in fame.
We have a scutcheon bright,
By our dead fathers bought :
A fearful blot distains its white—
Who hath such evil wrought ?

Our banner o'er the sea
Looks forth with starry eye,
Emblazoned, glorious, bold, and free,
A letter on the sky—
What hand with shameful stain
Hath marred its heavenly blue ?
The yoke, the fasces, and the chain—
Say, are these emblems true ?

This day doth music rare
Swell through our nation's bound,
But Afric's wailing mingles there,
And Heaven doth hear the sound.
O God of Power ? we turn
In penitence to thee,
Bid our loved land the lesson learn,—
To bid the Slave be FREE.

The scenery of the northern parts of the State is described, by those who have travelled through it, to be as beautiful as anything in Vermont, and as romantic as anything in the Alleghanies ; but the roads are as yet so imperfect, and the houses of

accommodation so few, that the district is but rarely visited by mere tourists. About sixty miles from hence, in a northerly direction, is a mountain called the Stone Mountain, which rises abruptly in a perpendicular cliff on its northern front, and with a very steep ascent on all its other sides, from a perfectly level plain. It is said to present a perpendicular cliff of more than two thousand feet in elevation from its base; and from its summit a prospect of the surrounding country may be enjoyed for more than fifty miles in every direction; while in one part of the horizon, the Alleghanny mountains are visible at a distance of a hundred miles. The Tulloola and Tuscoa Falls, within this State also, but distant from this nearly two hundred miles, are said to be beautiful scenes, especially the former, where a great chasm, or rent, between two perpendicular cliffs of more than a thousand feet high, exhibits all the grandeur of the deep gorges of the Alps, and the cataract greatly adds to the beauty of the picture.

We attended worship in the Presbyterian church, on the last day of our stay in Macon; and heard, from the pastor, one of the most able and impressive sermons I had yet heard from an American pulpit. The text was from the epistle of Paul to Timothy, in which he warns him against the sin of covetousness, and uses those emphatic words—"For the love of money is the root of all evil." It was a composition that would have done honour to the most accomplished divine in Europe; but what added to its effect was, that it was preached with as much sincerity as fervour, the preacher's whole life being, it was said, in harmony with his doctrine; while there

is no country on earth in which such warnings against too eager a desire for riches are more required than in this. The service was admirably conducted; the music and singing good; and the whole deportment of the congregation attentive, orderly, and becoming. In no country, indeed, are places of worship entered or occupied with more respect and reverence than in this, where every one seems to come, not as a matter of weekly ceremony, or habitual custom, but to the performance of a solemn duty, to which they give themselves up wholly during their stay there. Such are the workings, in this country, of the plan of supporting religion by the voluntary system.

This church, which would accommodate more than 700 worshippers, was built by twelve gentlemen, at a cost of about 30,000 dollars, or £6,000 sterling; they taking upon themselves the reimbursement of their outlay by the sale of the fee-simple in the pews to resident families, each pew being considered worth 400 dollars; and they were nearly all taken or bought before the church was completed. There were certain free seats reserved for strangers or visitors, but not for the poor, as there are none so poor in towns like this, as to be unable or unwilling to pay for a pew, if resident in the town. A moderate assessment, made by the elders and trustees, on the pews, provides the minister's salary, which is cheerfully paid; and never could there be a more striking proof than that exhibited of the sermon of to-day, that such dependence on the payment of his hearers does not prevent the pastor from speaking boldly to them, reproving them, and warning them against their

most prevalent sins. The organ, which cost 1,500 dollars, was built at Philadelphia, and was the gift of a single individual. It is thus that the churches of America are voluntarily built, supported, and supplied, without the bitter contentions which divide the churches in England, arraying the flock against the shepherd, and the shepherd against the flock, in contentions about tithes, oblations, first-fruits, church-rates, and other claims.

CHAP. XIII.

Departure from Macon for Columbus—Anecdote of negroes—Extravagant charges—Hospitality and kindness of the people of Macon—Break-down of a coach—Road to Knoxville—Negro Meg Merrilies, more than a century old—Peach orchards—German emigrants—Swiss girls—The river Flint—First steps of settlers—Appearance and condition of backwood families—Schools—Churches—Dram-shops—Animals—Birds—Post-offices—Executive patronage—Southern drivers—Use of tobacco—Aversion to labour—Value of negro slaves—Varieties of slave traffic—Daughters of American farmers—Cotton-gins and cotton-presses—Value of land—Bears on the rivers—Mount Sinai—Methodists—Orthodox and “Hard-shelled” Baptists—Commotion on amalgamation—Obliquities of moral views dependent on colour—Proportions of blacks to whites in Georgia—Alabama and Mississippi—Night scene in the woods—Arrival at Columbus—Discomfort of the large American hotels—Stay at Columbus—Falls of the Chathahooche—Confectionaries—Dirks and bowie-knives sold by druggists—Story of a negro female slave.

THE inconvenient hour at which the regular stages pass through this town to the west, from 12 to 4 in the middle of the night, had induced us to seek for an extra coach in which to perform our journey from hence to Columbus; but, as none were to be had, we were obliged not only to start at this inconvenient period, but to sit up, in order to ascertain whether there was room for our party of four in the coaches running through, as no places could be secured to us beforehand. When the first arrived, which was near four o'clock, there were as many persons congregated around it, to see it come in and go out, as if it had been the first time of its passing

through ; so long has the curiosity to see, outlived the novelty of the object to be seen.

On this head we were told some curious anecdotes of the country people and the negroes of the town. It is not long since the first church-bell was erected in Macon ; and when it rang for the hour of worship on the sabbath, crowds of persons from the country would assemble in groups to see it, and watch its upward and downward motions with all the eagerness of children witnessing for the first time the movements of a new toy. The river of Macon, the Ocmulgee, is navigable by steam-boats of light draught of water, up to the bridge ; its length, by the circuitous windings of the stream, being about 600 miles. When the first steam-boat arrived here from Darien, it was in the middle of the night, so that the letting off the steam was heard with great distinctness, from the absence of all other sounds. The negroes not being informed of the expected arrival, and never having heard any similar noise before, arose in great alarm, and hurried to the spot to see what was its cause ; when perceiving the intense lights from the furnace, and observing the sparks vomited forth by the wood fires from the large chimney, accompanied with the violent hissing of a column of steam, or as they called it, “ white smoke,” some of them thought the last day had arrived, and deemed this the summons to judgment. Their ignorance and fear soon causing this impression to spread, in a short time it became general, and created the greatest consternation among the coloured multitude, which was only allayed by the return of daylight, and the sight of the boat in a state of quiet and repose.

In paying our bill at the hotel of Macon, before we left, we had reason to find that the charges were in the inverse ratio of the quality of the fare and accommodation. The table was miserably furnished ; the beds dirty and ill-provided ; yet for this wretched accommodation, we had to pay at the rate of twelve dollars, or two guineas and a half, per day, for a family of three persons and a man-servant. Every one assured us that the farther we proceeded onward in this direction, till we got to Mobile and New Orleans, the tables and beds would get worse and worse, and the charges be higher and higher. We therefore followed the advice of our friends, in laying in a stock of biscuits and other simple food, to be used on the road, in all cases in which the fare at the public tables should be revolting, which was likely often to happen ; and the hospitality of some of those friends having furnished us with the necessary materials for this, we were rendered, to a great extent, independent of inns, except for beds, a matter in which we were obliged to resign ourselves to our fate.

I may add, that here at Macon, as at some few other places, we had been urgently invited to take up our abode with private families, who expressed a great desire to receive us as their guests ; but, from a wish to preserve ourselves as free as possible from obligations of this nature, we made it an invariable rule to decline such invitations, and to visit only as occasional guests. In the small towns of the country, however, we found the hospitality of the residents all that we could desire, and more than we could enjoy, mingled with the most genuine and cordial kindness.

At 4 o'clock on the morning of Monday the 11th of March, we took our seats in the mail for Columbus, with no very pleasing anticipations of our journey ; as the companion-coach, the Telegraph, which started from the same point at Augusta and had run all the way with the mail, was upset about two miles before reaching Macon. Its passengers, wounded and bruised, were brought on in the mail in which we were about to set forward ; the coach being left broken to pieces on the road. Our way until daylight was over an undulating surface, the road being as rough as before, and passing directly through a dense forest of pine-trees, the aspect of which was gloomy and monotonous in the extreme.

At twelve miles from Macon, we passed an inn, kept by Mr. Lachaise ; and this having the reputation of being one of the best on the road, we requested the driver to let us stop here for breakfast, it being near eight o'clock. But though there was only one passenger in the coach besides our party, and we were unanimous in our request, we could not prevail on him so far to accommodate us. We drove on, therefore, to Knoxville, a small village about thirteen miles beyond this, and there breakfasted at half-past ten. The fare was as rude as we had been taught to expect ; coffee weak and cold, tea without taste, eggs scarcely warmed through, and no bread but hot cakes of Indian corn. There was so evident a desire, however, on the part of the young landlord and his "landlordee"—as here, for the first time, we heard the mistress of an inn called—to meet our wishes, that their cheerfulness rendered the rudeness of the fare less disagreeable.

Soon after leaving Knoxville, while slowly ascending a hill, we overtook a very aged negress, well mounted on a beautiful horse. She was dressed in a fantastic manner, with an old black beaver bonnet, tied down with a dirty white handkerchief, like the gipsies of Europe, a plaid mantle, rather the worse for wear, floating over her shoulders, and a large crooked branch of a tree in her right hand, as a whip. Though her features were African, her complexion was not quite black, but a sort of reddish brown, such as characterizes the mixed offspring of the Negro and Indian races, of which class she probably was. She had not a tooth left, and her voice was loud, hoarse, and croaking; though her dark eye was full of fire and expression. As she drew up to the coach-window and accosted us, we thought we had never seen a more perfect picture of the Meg Merrilies of the Northern Wizard. On her salute of "good morning" being returned, we asked her how she did; and her reply was, "I'm a young girl yet, though over a hundred years old, and this morning I'm going a frolicking." We thought she must be crazy; but the stage-driver and our fellow-passenger, who knew her well, said she was an old slave of a planter in this neighbourhood; that she was born at Newburn in North Carolina, and that she was undoubtedly more than a century old, though vigorous enough to ride on horseback several miles a day. Her owner, ever since she had passed her hundredth year, had allowed her a fine horse, with a handsome saddle and bridle, to ride about the country. This she decorated, as well as herself, with the most fantastic ornaments, and calling herself

“The Sheriff,” she rode from one plantation to another, hearing and telling the news, delighting in gossip, always finding something to eat and drink, and some one to help her on her horse when she departed.

On each side of our way, in patches from which the forest trees had been cleared, were peach orchards, the trees of which were now in full blossom, and their beautiful pink colour enlivened the deep green of the never-ending pines. The peach of these orchards is smaller, redder, and more acid than the English peach. It is chiefly used to distil a liquor from it, called “peach brandy,” great quantities of which are consumed in the State.

We passed also a party of German emigrants going farther west, bivouacking in the woods. A little covered cart, with tattered awning, conveyed all their moveables, but the people themselves went on foot, except an occasional ride for the women and children; and their mode of life was perfectly gipsy-like through all their journey. Being among the most sober of the emigrants from Europe, they are the most successful, and their services are always preferred to those of the intemperate Irish, whose lives are thought here to be not more than three years on the average, after their landing; the abridgment of their natural term being caused wholly by drinking to excess.

Some of the German and Swiss broom-girls find their way here also, and gain a handsome livelihood and a surplus on which to return home, after a few years. We saw a party of half-a-dozen remarkably handsome young females, in Macon, who travelled

in company with their two brothers, of men's age, and a younger brother, quite a boy; and by singing, dancing, and selling brooms, they had accumulated, it was thought, a handsome little fortune, or what at least would be so considered among the peasants of Germany and Switzerland. The boy, though not more than ten years of age, was an excellent performer on the pianoforte; and one mode by which he ingratiated first himself, and then his party, into the good graces of the American families, was by asking if there was a piano in the house, and offering to play them some German music, at his skilful execution of which they were usually astonished, and rewarded him accordingly. As there is scarcely a dwelling of the most ordinary kind containing American females, in which there is not a pianoforte, almost all the female children being taught to play a little on it—though very few indeed evince either taste or skill, or make any progress beyond the few first lessons—so the instrument itself is found everywhere; and any good performance on it by a stranger is regarded with surprise.

About seven miles beyond Knoxville, we crossed the Flint river on a raft, on which the stage and four horses were drawn across by a rope. The stream is narrow and shallow here; but it becomes navigable for boats of large burden farther down, and joins the Chatahoochee river on the northern borders of Florida. These united streams then form the Apalachicola, which empties itself into the bay of that name, on the northern shore of the gulf of Mexico.

From this point onward the marks of settlement were more frequently seen in all their various stages.

The first is the "girdling of trees," as it is called, which is the process of cutting round a girdle or hollow band near the root, by which all the bark of the tree is removed, and the vessels for the ascent of its sap are destroyed. The tree thus perishes in a few years, by losing all its bark and leaves ; and it is impossible to imagine anything more dreary and desolate than the sight of a large number of trees in this state of death and decay. Another process is that of setting fire to the underwood, and charring the trunks of such trees as are dry enough to bear the operation of fire. The flames sometimes, however, spread faster and farther than is intended, especially if the wind is high ; and it was said that within the past week only, more than 100,000 rails of fine wood, recently used up in fences for the adjoining lands, had been destroyed by fire, and consumed so rapidly that no effort could arrest its progress. A third process is, the cutting down the trees with the axe ; but this is often left till the ground has been ploughed, and sown with corn, and yielded two or three crops ; because, as the greater number of trees are fit only for fire-wood, pitch-pine being the most numerous, it is desirable to let these remain erect till they are wanted, and not to cumber the ground with their presence.

It sometimes happens, however, that when a tornado, or whirlwind, sweeps over the forest, which it often does in May and June, when the ground is wet and loose after heavy rains, many of the trees having but a slender hold with their roots, it tears up hundreds of them at a gust ; and we saw many thousands of such trees, right and left, in our journey

of many miles, so prostrated, some with all their branches and leaves on, but the greater number bare and bleak, lying in heaps on the ground, to the great injury of the owner, as it was impossible to plough the land on which they lay, and to burn, or to remove them, was equally slow and expensive.

Along the whole of the road, for nearly all the distance from Knoxville to Talbotton, log-huts and rising settlements, hardly yet amounting to villages, were seen, the edge of the road being favourable for sending produce to market, and receiving supplies. But the soil here is not so good, as the road runs along the summits of ridges, where the ground is high, and hard or sandy, the rich lands being in the bottoms or water-courses on each side. The settlers' first dwelling, however, is usually erected near the road, and the low lands are brought into cultivation as they can be cleared afterwards.

It is difficult for any one living in England to appreciate the difficulties, toils, and privations which a settler and his family have to undergo in clearing land, and surrounding themselves with even the barest necessities. Every member of the family must work hard, from daylight to dark, the women as well as the men, and the children as well as the grown people. We saw many boys and girls, of not more than six or seven years of age, some using small axes, others carrying wood, and others assisting in domestic duties. In general they were very dirty in their persons, the mother being too weary to wash them; ragged and ill-fitted in their clothes, there being no tailor or dressmaker to make them; and some of the boys especially reminded me of

Cruikshank's ludicrous sketch of a "boy wearing out his father's garments," for many of them had the coats and hats of grown men, so that the former came down below their ankles, and the latter covered their eyes, and required constant lifting. They were all apparently unhealthy, parents and children looking pale and haggard, over-worked in body, and over-pressed with thought and anxiety in mind. What adds greatly to the disadvantage of their situation is, that there are no schools, Sundays or weekdays, and very few places of worship; while dram-shops, under the name of confectionaries, exist in great numbers, where sweetmeats, cordials, and spirits are to be had so cheap, that the poison is abundant and the remedy scarce; so that the border population, surrounded by such circumstances, can hardly fail to be reckless and unprincipled.

Among the animals in use, we saw many fine oxen, some few cows, still fewer sheep, and a very few goats. Mules are more numerous than horses, they are bred here for draught, and imported also from Kentucky, being worth on an average 100 dollars each. Hogs are the most abundant of all, their flesh constituting almost the only animal food used by the settlers. In the woods, the turtle-dove was the only bird we saw in any numbers; a solitary mocking-bird was occasionally seen; but though it was now the season in which it might be said, "for, lo! the winter is past, the rains are over and gone, and the time of the singing of birds is come," we were never once cheered, in all our journey, by the sounds of the feathered choir, that make the woods of "merry England" redolent of song. Of course,

the noise of the wheels would prevent our hearing birds while the coach was in motion, but it was the same dead silence everywhere that we halted ; though perhaps, in the depth of the forest, and remote from the public road, it might have been otherwise ; this at least we had not experienced.

As we were journeying in the mail-stage, we had to stop at every post-office ; and these are so numerous, one occurring every ten or twelve miles, that it was impossible to have a separate bag for each ; so that at each office the great mail-bag had to be opened, the letters examined to see if there were any for that station or district, and then it was necessary to make up the bag again, repeating the same process at every office. As this took half an hour at least, and our rate of travelling never exceeded six miles an hour, the mail was frequently overtaken and left behind by the ordinary stage-coaches. The rate of charge for fare is the same, however, in each, being about a dollar for every ten miles as the cheapest, and a dollar for every eight miles as the dearest on the road.

The post-offices, which are very humble buildings, and often mere sheds, are more numerous, it is said, than the correspondence of the country requires ; but as the appointment of the postmasters rests with the president, this forms a large branch of executive patronage. Since the days of General Jackson, it is well known that the only qualification required for such appointment, has been the advocacy of the politics of the ruling party ; there is thus an army of political postmasters arrayed on the side of the Administration. The post-offices in the country and districts here

are like the old barbers' shops in English villages a century ago — places for the idle and the gossiping to assemble and discuss the news. To add to the attractions of the post-offices here, many of them are also "confectionaries," at which liquors of all kinds are freely sold; and the class of persons usually assembled to hear the news on the arrival of the mail, were among the most dirty, dissipated, and reckless in their appearance.

The drivers on this road were very inferior to those of the Northern States in deportment and language; they were often insolent, always unaccommodating, and frequently most profligate in their oaths; while, having no fee to expect from the passenger, they appeared to me to be studiously disrespectful, as if they sought that mode of displaying their independence. We sometimes hoped to get a better, by their frequent change, as each driver went only the one stage with his team, usually from ten to twelve miles, but there was a great uniformity in their worthlessness. These, as well as most of the men of these parts, that we had yet seen, had tall gaunt figures, wanting firmness and compactness, though not deficient in strength. They were all ill-dressed, scarcely a garment fitting them well, being more like ready-made clothes bought at a venture, than fitted by any tailor. The greater number went without neckcloths, some without coats, and a good hat was a rarity. Instead of woollen cloths, a kind of grey, or blue-and-white cotton cloth, of domestic manufacture, was used for coats and trousers. Tobacco was in almost universal use, and the youngest of boys were seen chewing and smoking;

while the number of idlers lounging about as though they had nothing to do, could only be accounted for by the fact, that here the negro slave does the greatest part of the labour, while his white master receives the profits of it.

As we passed a spot where some negroes were cutting up the wood for rails or fences—all the divisions between different properties being made here by the zig-zag, or snake-fence—our fellow-passenger, who was himself a slave-owner, said that such negroes as these, stout healthy men, were worth in the market from 1000 to 1200 dollars, or from £200 to £250 each. On asking him the cause of this high price, he said it was owing to several circumstances, but especially the following : first, a demand for slaves to clear the new lands in Texas ; secondly, a demand for slaves to cultivate cotton in Alabama, and sugar in Louisiana ; and thirdly, a demand for slaves to work on the many new railroads now making all over the country. These new sources of demand had given, he said, great increased value to negro property ; and more money, he thought, was at this time made by trading in slaves within the United States, than by almost any other occupation. Many speculators travelled over the older States of Virginia and Maryland, bought up the surplus stock found in the hands of the slave-breeders there, and brought them to the South, for a profitable market. Others purchased slaves within the State, and hired them out to work on the railroads, making, as interest on their investment, from 30 to 50 per cent, while capital invested in planting did not yield more than 20 per cent on the average.

In the course of our ride, we stopped at a log-hut, to take in a young lady as passenger. She was apparently about 14 or 15, and, like almost all the American females at that age, was remarkably pretty, with as much feminine delicacy as would be seen in the highest circles in England, though with less of polish or of grace. Though coming from so humble a dwelling, her apparel was of silk, while the gold rings on her white and taper fingers, and the green veil hanging from her Leghorn bonnet, showed that her hands had not been much inured to labour, or her complexion much exposed to the sun.

There is a great difference between the condition and appearance of young females in the humbler ranks of life in England and America. In the former, they labour to assist their parents, by which they get an air of roughness, and rude health, accompanied with a plainness of attire, such as is thought becoming in persons of inferior station. Here, except it be among the emigrants and first settlers, who are mostly foreigners, few females assist their mothers in household or any other duties. They are brought up to be waited on by a negro girl, who does all that is required; and every white woman's daughter, begins from the earliest years to think herself a lady. Fine dress and delicate appearance, with an imitation of genteel manners, are the business of her life, until she gets married, which is here often at 14 and 15; and then her utter inefficiency as a mother may be readily conceived.

On the road we passed a few cotton-gins, for separating the seed from the cotton. Each crop produces about four times as much seed as is necessary

to plant the same space on which it was produced ; and the residue is sold for seed-cotton, to supply new plantations. We saw also several cotton-presses, in the fields, for pressing the cotton when it is packed into bales, though the greatest number of these are under cover. Cotton and Indian corn are the chief productions of all the cleared lands here. The value of such land was estimated at from ten to twenty-five dollars an acre, according to its position, before a single tree was cleared. The whole of the land in this State being now appropriated as private property, none remaining any longer in the hands of either the general or the State governments, large fortunes will be made by such as can afford to hold their possessions, (nearly all having bought at a dollar and a quarter per acre,) as every year adds considerably to its value, and some few patches in the bottom lands are already deemed worth fifty dollars an acre at least.

We crossed many running brooks, sometimes passing through the water, but more frequently over a corduroy bridge, composed of round trunks of trees with the bark on, laid side by side, sometimes close to each other, but often with spaces of two or three inches between them ; and the shaking, in passing over these, was such as to twist every muscle in the body. In those bottom lands, and along the banks of the streams, wild bears are sometimes seen, but these are getting fewer every year, though along the borders of the Flint river they are said to be still very numerous.

The only place of worship we passed in all our day's ride, was a new clap-board meeting-house, just erected on the edge of the woods, near the road-side,

but not yet opened. It was named Mount Sinai, and might truly be called a "tabernacle in the wilderness." It was built by the Methodists, who are here, as everywhere, the pioneers of religious instruction, as their system of circuits and itinerant preaching peculiarly fit them for going into the rude and untrodden paths, to open a highway for those who are to follow after them. A fact was mentioned to us here, as of recent occurrence, which will sufficiently shew the necessity of more churches and more preachers, to correct the present state of things. In this quarter there are two descriptions of Baptists: the orthodox, or evangelical, who are practically as well as theoretically pious, and disposed to assist in all benevolent undertakings; and the Antinomians, or, as they are here called, "hard-shelled" Baptists, who preach the doctrines of unconditional election and reprobation in their severest forms, and whose practice shows how little importance they attach to good works. In the neighbourhood of the road between Knoxville and Talbotton, was a small chapel, which belonged to the latter; and one of the preachers of the former wanted to occupy it on a Sabbath evening, when the others had no service, but it was refused. There was then a great question agitating the public mind here, whether Christianity should be preached to the slaves, and missionaries be permitted to go among them for this purpose or not. The evangelical Baptists desired this; but the "hard-shelled" order opposed it. In this they were supported by the majority of the whites here, who conceived that preaching to slaves would only make them more dissatisfied with their condition, and encourage them

to rebel against their masters. The "hard-shelled" minister denounced missions and missionaries, from his pulpit, and was applauded and caressed by his hearers. The evangelical minister commended missions and missionaries, from such elevated stumps as he could find among the trees to preach from, and he was insulted and driven off the ground; since which the "hard-shelled" Baptists are said to have had everything their own way, in this quarter.

A competition or rivalry of a different description took place here recently, and has but just ended, among the proprietors of the three lines of coaches running on this road. The fare from Macon to Columbus, a distance of ninety miles, was twenty dollars, while the mail-stage had the monopoly. A second line was set up, and reduced it to ten dollars. A third line followed, and brought it down to five dollars. The two former reduced their rates to one dollar; and the new adventurers absolutely carried their passengers for nothing, while the hotels furnished them with dinner and champagne at the cost of the coach-proprietors! This could of course last but a little while: all parties soon saw the folly of such a career of mutual loss, which must end in the ruin of one or more, if persisted in, and they settled on a compromise of all running at the same hours, and the same rates, ten dollars per ninety miles. As, however, there are rarely more than enough passengers to fill one coach, they are all losing money, even at this rate, yet fear to raise it, lest a higher fare might tempt some new competitor into the field.

It was five o'clock when we reached Talbotton, a pretty little place, forming the principal town of the

county of Talbotton, and having a good brick courthouse, a large inn, many shops and stores, and some very neat and tasteful private dwellings. The place was in a great commotion about a piece of scandal that had set the whole community by the ears; though, at first, the story was unintelligible to us. A young girl of the neighbourhood had been recently married, at little more than twelve years of age, and the rumour had gone abroad that the first offspring of this young mother, produced after seven months' gestation, was "a mule!" This tale, which at first shocked us by its grossness, and then became incredible from its absurdity, was rendered more intelligible by an explanation that this was a cant phrase to denote a "coloured child." The inference intended to be drawn from this slander was, not only that the child was not the husband's, but that its real parent was a coloured person; an offence which, in the language of some of those whom we heard speak of it, "all the waters of Georgia would be insufficient to wash out." It had been already ascertained that the child was no browner than many white children are known to be at birth, who get fairer afterwards; and there was nothing in its features or hair to indicate African blood, even in the second or third degree; so that public indignation was now beginning to be turned from the innocent mother, to the criminal originator of the scandal; and it was thought that if he or she could be discovered, and the proof of guilt be brought home to them, nothing short of their assassination would appease the incensed community.

Many were the exclamations uttered on this occasion against the Abolitionists, and the horrors of

amalgamation ; but when I endeavoured indirectly to draw from some of the speakers their opinion as to the frequent amalgamation, by African mothers having offspring by American fathers, no sort of censure was thought due to this. It was not denied that there were many instances in which white men became fathers of offspring by their own negro women, and as the children follow the fate of their mothers, such offspring would be his slaves, and might be lawfully sold by him as his property, and often were so disposed of ! Such is the obliquitous morality of those who are loudest in the expression of their horror at amalgamation, when imputed to the Abolitionists !

From one of the residents of Talbotton, who was our fellow-passenger here, I learnt, what I confess surprised me, yet he assured me it was true, that though in the large towns of Georgia, and particularly those to the eastward, such as Savannah, Augusta, and Macon, the white population and the blacks were nearly equal in numbers ; yet, taking the State all through, the proportion was at least ten negroes to one white ; the number of negroes employed in the cotton plantations causing this great difference. In Alabama, where I expected the disproportion would have been greater, he said it was less, being not more than four negroes to one white ; but this he accounted for by stating that a great many poor white families were settled in Alabama as cultivators, and did the work there, which negroes perform here. The most startling part of all was, however, that in Mississippi, the next adjoining State, the number of negroes was at least fifty to one white person ; though even here, he said, they were

not in such constant apprehension of danger as they were in Charleston. This he attributed to the circumstance that in Alabama nearly all were slaves, and so scattered and employed incessantly in labour, that they had not the means of combination ; whereas, in Charleston, the number of free blacks was very considerable ; and as many of these had leisure and means, and communicated freely with the slaves, a union and concentration of their sympathies made them much more dangerous, though their numbers were so much fewer, and their proportion to the whites so much less, than in the State of Mississippi. The gentleman who made these statements was himself a slaveholder, an anti-missionary man, and a great hater of the Abolitionists.

On our way from Talbotton to Columbus, there were many log-huts near the road, and much ground fenced-in for clearing ; but our way was through endless forests of pine, under the varied aspects already frequently described. When the sun had set, and the night was fairly closed in, the fires, still burning in many parts of the woods, glared, from various points, and exhibited a wild and romantic picture ; the red glow of light in the heavens reflecting the blaze below, and adding much to the impressiveness of the scene. Every now and then we passed by a log-hut, through the open chinks of which, the light could be so well seen, as to form horizontal lines of red, alternating with the dark logs of wood between, while here and there, in the very deepest recesses of the forest, would be seen the twinkling taper of some distant cottage, dimmed by the blue haze which usually follows the close of

a sultry day, as this had been. The thermometer at noon was above 70°, though on this day week, it had been down to 20°: and while the forest trees on each side presented a dark mass of foliage at their summits, and the tangled grape-vines and creepers, mixed with the smaller trees, formed impenetrable thickets below, the sky above our heads was of the brightest azure, and spangled with stars that shone out with more than ordinary lustre, making the whole scene a mixture of the solemn, the beautiful, and the sublime.

It was midnight before we reached Columbus, where we found accommodation, such as it was, at the Oglethorpe Hotel, and here we determined to remain for the night, as the roughness of the roads, the violence of the motion—which had twice broken down our coach, and obliged us to halt for its repair on the way—and the wretchedness of the fare at all the tables we had seen, made us anxious to rest and recruit for a day. The hotel was very large, and the rooms more spacious than usual; but though not built more than four or five years, it had all the defects of a much older building. The doors of the rooms were many of them shattered, hinges and locks out of repair, windows broken, and sashes and blinds out of order, without any attempt being made to remedy all this. It seems quite characteristic, indeed, of the Southern hotels to have almost everything in need of repair. When the building is once erected and finished, no one seems to take any pains to keep it in good condition; but when things get injured they are suffered so to remain till they are altogether worn out.

All the servants here being slaves, and no master or mistress of Southern hotels appearing to take the least interest in the reception or accommodation of their visitors, those who arrive are entirely dependent on these slaves for whatever they require. Though three coaches stopped at the door, no one was ready to receive them. The negroes belonging to the house were all lying huddled together on the floor, none of them being provided with more than a blanket, which they rolled round them, but without bedding or pillow. They sleep so soundly that it is a matter of the greatest difficulty to wake them; and even then, it requires a long time to make them understand what you wish. Not a single bed-room that we were shown into was ready, the beds being unmade, the rooms unprepared, and all in disorder and confusion; the reason alleged was, that it was quite time enough to get rooms ready, when they were sure they would be wanted. Everything being in disorder, therefore, it took an hour, at least, to put the room in decent condition; and even then it was most uncomfortable.

The usual practice of putting the bed up close to the wall, so that one side of it only can be got at, and this in the largest rooms, as well as the smallest, makes it impossible to adjust the bed-clothes comfortably. When attempting to draw the bed farther out to do this, the whole bedstead fell to pieces, though it was nearly new. It was merely put together, without nails, screws, or cords, and was never intended to be moved from the position in which it was fixed, either for washing, sweeping, airing, or any other purpose; and accordingly the

servants never attempted it. No bells are ever found in these hotels, though they are so large, and the servants are so far off and so stupid, that there is more need of bells here than in any other country; no curtains to the beds, broken wash-stands, basins without jugs, or jugs without basins, a dressing-glass shifted from room to room as required, no clothes' pins or pegs to hang a great coat, cloak, or any other garment on, and no closets or wardrobes to supply this deficiency—in short every thing is so rude and imperfect as to excite one's astonishment that the keepers of such establishments should ever suffer them to remain so a single day, until it is remembered that the masters of American hotels, being generals, colonels, and majors, are too much of gentlemen to superintend anything except receiving the money; while their wives are still more disinclined to trouble themselves with household affairs; so that everything is left to the bar-keeper or clerk, and the slaves under his direction; and these last, having no interest in the matter, neglect everything but what they are actually compelled to do; and therefore all things fall speedily into disorder.

In this hotel, the out-door accommodation for gentlemen (water-closets being a luxury here unknown) was worse than I had ever before found it, bad as this is in every part of the United States; but it would seem that as the traveller goes South, where the increased warmth of the climate would require greater attention to personal comfort and purity, as well as to cleanliness of apartments and food, everything gets worse; and we thought that we

had here arrived at the *ne plus ultra* of disorder, neglect, and dirtiness ; though we were told, in the ordinary phrase, that we might “go farther and fare worse,” and moreover be obliged to pay more and more extravagantly, as the accommodations grew less acceptable.

We remained at Columbus during the whole of Tuesday ; and though much fatigued, had an opportunity of seeing something of the town, and some of its most respectable citizens, to whom I had letters of introduction. The town is only ten years old, being one of the newest places of any size in this part of the country, yet it already contains about 8,000 inhabitants, in nearly equal proportions of black and white ; and both its public and private buildings are substantial, commodious, and ornamental.

The river Chatahoochee, on the eastern bank of which it is seated, has, opposite to the town, some romantic ledges of dark granite rock, forming rapids, or falls, and interrupting the navigation of the stream above this point, except for small boats and canoes ; but from hence downward, for 600 miles, steam-vessels navigate easily to the sea, in the bay of Apalachicola, at the north eastern head of the gulf of Mexico. It has a covered wooden bridge, like a closed tunnel, crossing the stream, reposing on two piers, and lighted by windows at the sides.

In the town itself, we observed a more than usual number of the places called “Confectionaries,” where sweetmeats and fruits are sold ; but the great staple supplies of which are peach-brandy, whiskey, rum, and other ardent spirits, of which the consump-

tion here, by all classes and in various forms, is said to be considerable. We observed also, what to us was a novelty, the open sale of dirks, bowie-knives, and a long kind of stiletto, called the "Arkansas toothpick." These are sold by druggists, in whose shops or stores these deadly weapons are hung up for public inspection, and sold by them as part of the legitimate wares of their calling; thus plainly indicating, that weapons to kill, as well as medicine to cure, could be had at the same shop; and placing, beside the deadly poisons of arsenic, laudanum, hemlock, and hellebore, the deadly weapons of no less fatal power.

In the hotel in which we stopped, was a fine full-length portrait of General Mackintosh, the Indian chief of the Creek nation. Though the people of America seem anxious to get rid of the actual presence of the Indian people, and have them transported to the westward of the Mississippi, they have great admiration for their principal warriors, as if their names and exploits formed part of the national history of their country. Accordingly, no pictures are more popular than portraits of such men as Black Hawk, Keokuck, Red Jacket, Osceola, Mackintosh, and others; and their varied and richly-coloured costume, make them good subjects for pictures.

It was a peculiar fancy of the hotel-keeper with whom we lodged, to call his children after the names of the several States, and we had accordingly a morning visit from four young ladies of the family, whose names were Georgia, Carolina, Virginia, and Louisiana. We learnt, during our stay here, a fact res-

pecting the state of social life and morals among the slave population employed in domestic servitude, which, as it came to us in the most authentic shape, is worth noticing, as a specimen of what we were assured was of very common occurrence. A female slave, born in Georgia, had been brought up in the house of her white master, and had given birth to a child, of whom one of the white master's visiting friends was the father. When the child grew up, it was thought desirable, for the father's sake, to send both the mother and child away to some other State, and as both were the property of the white master, (for offspring in this country follow the fate of their mothers, so that the coloured child of a white father becomes the property of the master to whom the slave-mother belongs,) it was proposed to send them both into Alabama for sale. As all the slaves have a great horror of being sent to the south or the west,—for the farther they go in either of these directions, the harder they are worked, and the worse they are used—great objection was made to this, and the mother declared she would “sulk,” so that nobody should buy her, and she would rather kill her brown boy than let him go to Alabama. As either of these steps would lessen the value of the master's property, and as the negroes have often resolution enough to put such threats into execution, the master began to hesitate, and the matter was compromised, by the mother being sold into the western part of the same State, and removed from Augusta to Columbia, while the child was sent farther east, to Charleston in South Carolina, and there is very little probability of their ever seeing each other again.

Such separations as these are quite common, and appear to be no more thought of, by those who enforce them, than the separation of a calf from its brute parent, or a colt from its dam. As the mother was an excellent house-servant, so large a sum as 1200 dollars, or nearly £250 sterling, was given for her by her present owner ; and he hired her to the master of the hotel, for a fixed sum in monthly wages, the amount of which was 20 dollars, giving the owner, therefore, an interest of 20 per cent. on his investment ; out of which he had no deduction to make for her maintenance, as the person hiring her undertook to feed and clothe her. For the latter, however, she was entirely dependent on any little presents received from travellers visiting the hotel ; though this was very trifling, as it is not the custom to give fees to the servants in America : indeed, the charges are generally so high, as to indispose persons to add gratuities to the attendants. The condition of a large race of unfortunate dependents, among whom such instances as these are common, may therefore be better imagined than described.

CHAP. XIV.

Leave Georgia for Alabama—Contrast of scenery and condition—Wildness and solitude of the forest—Reach Tuskegeea—Story of the landlady—Rising village—Excellent school in the woods—Halt for the night at a log-hut—Vindictive spirit of the Indians and their breed—Cubahatchee—Improved aspect of the country—Fine houses—Large and productive plantations—Corduroy roads—Break-down of the coach—Negro-repairs—Village of Mount Meigs—Second breakdown—Wretched appearance of the plantation slaves—Express mail from New York to New Orleans—Arrival at Montgomery.

WE felt so much fatigued by our rough journeys from Augusta to Macon, and Macon to Columbus, that we were unwilling to encounter another night's travelling in the same way; and as the regular stages all pass through here at night, there was no way of escaping the evil we desired to avoid, but by taking an extra coach for our exclusive use, and giving two days to the journey of little more than ninety miles. After considerable negotiation, we were enabled to effect this, but at the extravagant charge of 120 dollars, or about £25 sterling.

In this coach we left Columbus at eight o'clock on the morning of Wednesday the 13th of March; and crossing the river Chathahooche a little below the falls, by the wooden bridge described, we entered on the state of Alabama, the river being the dividing line or boundary between the two.

The change of aspect in scenery and condition was very striking. The woods, into which we were entering, seemed more wild, the road being a mere

pathway through and around standing trees, the tops of which touched our heads in many places ; the land was poorer in quality, but being more undulated in surface, the swamps in the bottoms were more abundant ; the brooks ran with greater impetuosity, and the bridges over them were more rude than any we had yet seen. Rough corduroy roads occurred for many hundred yards at a time, and loose planks laid across horizontal beams, supported on single pillars, but neither nailed nor fastened, served for bridges ; while frequently the coach would have to go through water deep enough to come close up to the coach-door, and threaten us, by the slightest false step, with immersion. The stations, where we changed horses, were mere log-huts, used as stables : and all the way, for miles in succession, we saw neither a human being, a fence, a rood of cleared land, nor anything indeed that could indicate the presence of man, or the trace of civilization, so that we felt the solitude of the woods in all its fulness.

This description applies to all the tract of land for many miles beyond the river Chathahoochee ; and it was said that whoever came as far as that towards Georgia, were more disposed to go on and fix their settlement in that State, than in Alabama, which seems to have a bad name even among those who reside in it. Beyond this belt, signs of settlement began gradually to appear, but even these were of the rudest kind. A blacksmith's shop, a few log-huts, and a "confectionary," with the ever-ready poison of strong drink, constituted a village ; and for forty miles of our road we saw only one instance of a store where any other goods could be procured ; this being

a log-house recently devoted to the purpose of a general drapery and grocery warehouse.

It was five o'clock, or nine hours after our setting out from Columbus, when we reached the little village of Tuskegeea, forty-five miles from Columbus ; and here we should have halted for the night, but that there were yet two good hours of daylight, and we were desirous of making the second day's journey as short as practicable. The inn, at which we changed horses, was one of the neatest and cleanest we had seen in the South ; and though very humble in its appearance and furniture, there was such an air of neatness, cleanliness, and order about it, that it excited our warm commendation. The landlady, having her sympathies touched by our praise of her management and arrangement, entered voluntarily into conversation with us, and told us the outline of her history.

She said that her husband and herself had both been brought up without having been taught the proper value of money, so that they had not been long married before they had run through all they possessed. In this extremity they had only a choice between two evils, one of which was to go to Texas, where people who were unfortunate had land given to them, and could get on fast, by industry and care ; the other was to purchase a small piece of land in some rising village nearer home, and, by a little harder labour and more rigid economy, get on quite as well, though not quite so fast, as in Texas. They preferred the last, and came here about three years ago ; it was then that the first tree was cut down to form the village of Tuskegeea, where some

Creek Indians of that name had just vacated a settlement, to go beyond the Mississippi. These Indians, she said, had been a terror to all the whites of the neighbourhood, and massacred many families in cold blood; and her statement was confirmed to us in many quarters. Among other instances of their ferocity and cruelty, we heard at Columbus, that some years ago a stage-coach had been attacked by them in the forest, and after securing the horses for their own use, the Indians broke up the coach, and burnt it in the middle of the road. They then made the passengers prisoners, and scalping them all, men, women, and children, they placed them in a small wigwam, to which they set fire, and burnt them all alive! In Florida, to the present hour, the Seminoles commit similar outrages on the whites wherever they can find them; and we heard from two ladies going to St. Augustine, that within the last two years, nearly every white family living within two or three miles of these towns, had been put to death by the Indians.

Since the settlement of this landlady and her husband, who was a general, at Tuskegee, they had prospered exceedingly, were every year adding to their substance, and surrounding themselves with comforts and means of enjoyment. A good population had been attracted near them, comprising upwards of 300 persons; and there was now an excellent school, in which more than 100 youths of both sexes received the best education given in the country, from a male teacher from Mobile, and a female teacher from the celebrated seminary at Troy, in the State of

New York. The teachers were said to be very competent, and received 1000 dollars, or about 200% a year each ; and music, drawing, and languages were taught, as well as the ordinary branches of an English education. No village of 300 persons in England could certainly produce the parallel of this, more especially a village only three years old.

Our next stage from hence was a distance of twelve miles, through the same description of scenery as that passed in the morning, but the soil was more clayey, and the road better, though all our drive was performed through a deluge of heavy rain, which was very acceptable to the country, as more than a month had passed since any rain had fallen.

At the end of this stage we reached a log-house, where we were to sleep for the night. The beds and interior accommodations were most uninviting ; but we had no choice, so, lighting a large wood-fire, and preparing some tea, which our kind friends at Savannah had furnished us with, as none was to be had in houses of this description, we enjoyed it, and retired early. During the night, the rain poured down with great violence, and as the roof of the log-house was not water-proof, we had streams entering at different parts of it, which made our position very uncomfortable. The partitions between the several small apartments into which the house was divided, were so thin, and the beds were placed so close to them, that the slightest noise or sound made in one room could be distinctly heard in the next ; so that it was like sleeping with a dozen persons in the same apartment. The cries of some young children, the

snoring of the negroes scattered about lying on the floor, the constant barking of several large dogs, saluting and answering each other in alternate volleys, and the incessant croakings of the frogs, with which every part of these woods abound, made it almost impossible to sleep. We therefore got out to trim the fire, and see the hour, several times during the night, and were extremely glad when the daylight broke on us, our first perception of this being through the chinks of the roof, as there was no window whatever in the room in which we slept.

In the morning a very rude breakfast was prepared; and happening to converse with the old woman who served us, on the state of the country, and asking whether the removal of the Indians was not considered a blessing by the settlers here, I remarked that she made no answer. We afterwards learnt, that the man by whom the house was kept was himself a half-blood Indian, and his rage was said to be so great when this question was repeated to him, that he was "perfectly mad," in the language of our informant, and declared his regret that he had missed the opportunity to shoot me for so saying. Such is the vindictive spirit that seems to flow through Indian veins, and which loses but little of its original nature, even by mingling with gentler blood than its own.

We left this log-house at half-past eight, in the same coach that brought us from Tuskegee; and proceeded onward for Montgomery, reaching, after a few miles, a new village settlement called Cuba-hatchee. The soil now became richer on each side, and the woods were much more variegated, as, besides the ever-succeeding pine, there was a thick under-

wood of various flowering shrubs and trees, including magnolias, yellow jessamines, the dogwood, and the grape-vine, with a very beautiful tree called the willow-oak. The brooks of water were also more frequent, though the bridges over them were still of the rudest kind ; and across one, the only road for foot-passengers was along a series of high-legged benches or forms, ranged in line, or end to end, elevated a few inches only above the water's-edge, and never more than eight or nine inches wide.

A little beyond Cubahatchee we passed one of the most spacious and best-built houses that we had yet seen on the road, with portico and verandas, an excellent garden surrounding it, and the whole enclosed with a regular paling of uniform upright pointed rails, smooth and painted white : pride-of-india trees were abundant, and a peach-orchard near was in full blossom. In the centre of an adjoining field, was seen the family burial-ground, railed in with a paling like the garden, with this difference only, that while the body of the rails was white, the pointed terminations above the horizontal band were black, as well as the arch over the entrance-gateway ; giving it thus the air of a place of mourning.

Immediately beyond this large mansion, the road was lined on each side with extensive fields of the richest soil, perfectly cleared of all timber, and even the stumps of the trees rooted up and removed. Some of these fields appeared to be from fifty to eighty acres each in extent ; and we here saw the first instance of hedges and ditches around the enclosures. These lands had been devoted to corn in all previous years, but the present high price of cotton

had tempted the greatest number of the planters here to cultivate this plant, and they were "all going into cotton mightily," as our informant expressed himself, this year, in the hope of making their fortunes by it in the next. Cotton pays the landholder a return of twenty per cent. for his capital, when it sells even at ten cents per pound; and it is now sixteen cents. In ploughing the land, on which the negroes were now engaged, each plough had one horse and one man only, the same person holding the plough and guiding the horse with a rein. For manure, small heaps of the cotton-seed were spread at regular distances, and then scattered over the surface. Many planters appropriate the whole of the seed of each crop to this purpose, and get new seed every year from South Carolina; but some reserve a sufficient quantity of the old seed for sowing the land for the new crop, and either use the surplus as manure, or sell it.

Excellent as the soil was here, and rich and productive as all the fields around us seemed to be, the roads were even worse than usual, the corduroy ridges of round logs extending sometimes for upwards of a mile in continuity, and so violently shaking the coach, that though it was nearly new, and built with great strength, it broke down with us in the middle of the road. We were therefore obliged to get out, and walk about half a mile to a farm-house during the rain, while it was repairing. This was done by the assistance of negroes sent from the farm, with poles of wood, and such rude tools as they could obtain for the purpose. A very little labour from each adjoining plantation would put

these roads in excellent condition ; but the reason assigned for this not being applied is, that every planter considers himself only a temporary occupant of the plantation on which he is settled ; he thus goes on from year to year, racking it out, and making it yield as much cotton or corn as he can in each year, without considering the future, holding himself ready to sell at a day's notice to any one who will give him what he considers to be the increased value of the estate. With the proceeds of this he is ready to go farther west in quest of another lot of land, which he is ready to clear, plant, improve, and then sell as before. Under this system of perpetual movement, every planter is averse to lay out money or labour in improving the roads of his particular district, as it is extremely improbable that he will live long in the same spot, to enjoy the benefit of such improvements. Added to this, a railroad is now in progress from Columbus to Montgomery, and is expected to be finished in the course of a year, when the ordinary roads will be abandoned for all but merely local conveyances.

Our coach being set up again, we proceeded on our way, and soon passed a very spacious and elegant mansion, with large verandas all round, a beautiful and extensive garden, with vineries, arbours, and alcoves ; and shortly after we halted at a small village called Mount Meigs, of still more recent origin than Tuskegee, but, like it, flourishing and increasing rapidly. The fields in all this neighbourhood appeared larger, cleaner, better cultivated, and more productive, than any we had seen on our way ; and the whole of the farming operations seemed on a

better scale than usual ; but the roads were still so bad, that before we had gone far we had a second break-down, and thought, for some time, we should have to walk the rest of the way to Montgomery ; but by the aid of the negroes from a neighbouring plantation, we were once more set up, and enabled to proceed.

During the interval, and while the coach was under repair, we had an opportunity of seeing the great bulk of the labourers on the plantation. These were all negro slaves ; and their appearance and condition were not at all superior to those we saw at Savannah ; the few garments they had being almost wholly in rags, and their persons and apparel so filthy, that it might be doubted whether either the one or the other were ever washed from one end of the year to the other.

While we were halting here, patching up our broken vehicle, and lamenting our frequent delays, we were passed by the " Express Mail," established between New York and New Orleans. Letters, printed slips of news, and prices of goods, of sufficient importance to warrant the extra expense in their conveyance, are sent by this mode between the two cities. A relay of horses is posted all the way at intervals of four miles, for which it requires a stud of 500 horses, in motion or in constant readiness for mounting. Each boy rides only twenty-four miles, twelve onward and twelve back, changing his horses twelve times in that distance ; and for this purpose, and to supply vacancies by sickness and accidents, about 200 boys are employed, who gallop the whole way, and make good fourteen miles an

hour, including all stoppages. The expense of this conveyance is so much greater than its return, that it will probably be given up.

About three o'clock in the afternoon we reached Montgomery, having been seven hours performing a distance of thirty miles, with two break-downs on the way ; and glad enough we were to terminate this long and tedious land-journey, in which, for a distance of more than 400 miles, we had scarcely seen anything but interminable forests on either side of our path, except in the small spaces occupied by the few towns and villages in the way, and the inconsiderable portions in which a few patches of corn or cotton cultivation bordered the mere skirts of the road.

At Montgomery we found excellent quarters in the best hotel we had seen since leaving New York, superior even, as it seemed to us at least, to the hotels of Charleston and Savannah ; and, being desirous of proceeding onward without delay, we embarked in the steam-boat, "Commerce," to go down the Alabama river to Mobile, a distance of nearly 500 miles, which these fine vessels perform in about forty-eight hours, their rate of speed exceeding ten miles an hour all the way

CHAP. XV.

Voyage down the Alabama river to Mobile—Scenery and forests of the river's banks—Cypress trees—Swamps—Moss festoons—Bluffs—Cotton and wood landings—Fogs—Cahawba—Portland and Canton—Planters from the interior of Alabama—Settlers from beyond the Mississippi—Claiborne, Sparta, and Montezuma—Cane-brakes—Alligators—Snakes—Solitary eagle in her forest-nest—Sturgeon, trout, cat-fish, and buffalo—Tumbukbee river—Choctaws and Chickasaws—Military arsenal of Mount Vernon—Arrival at Mobile.

THE time fixed for the departure of the steam-boat was nine in the evening, as by this hour all the eastern stages were usually in ; but, as often happens, one of these stages was six hours beyond its usual time, while another had broken down on the road, and was left there by the passengers, who had to walk for the remainder of the way, so that they did not reach Montgomery till near daylight ; and the boat, thus delayed for their arrival, did not start till morning. The general regularity of English stage-coaches, so accustoms an Englishman to expect punctuality in the public conveyances of other countries, that he feels these irregularities the more annoying. But American travellers, accustomed to them from their youth, bear them with enviable equanimity.

The Alabama river, at the place of our embarkation, was not large, nor was the surrounding scenery interesting ; but about fifty miles above this, to which the steam-navigation extends, the scenery is said to

be pleasing, especially at Wetumpka, a very recent settlement forty-five miles above Montgomery, where are certain rapids or falls, the Indian name, Wetumpka, meaning, "the falling stream." Both there and at this place, a great number of fish resembling salmon are taken in traps; and as we were passing to the boat for embarkation, we met several persons coming up from the river with many fine large fish, called buffaloes, of which it was said upwards of 500 were caught, at a single haul, by a seine, or net, opposite the wharf at which we lay.

The steam-vessel in which we were now embarked, differed from any that I had previously seen; and was constructed in the following manner. Her lower part, from the water's edge to about three feet above, was devoted to the engine, which was in the centre, the piston working horizontally fore and aft, instead of perpendicularly, as in our English boats, while an immense fly-wheel in the centre of the boat, turned the axles of the side-wheels or paddles. The engine was a high pressure one; and gave out a burst of steam from a tall chimney, at every revolution of the wheels, the sound being like the hard breathing of some huge mastadon labouring under the asthma; while the two chimneys vomiting forth volumes of black smoke, with the third breathing forth at momentary intervals its blasts of white curling steam, made both the sight and the sound peculiar. The whole margin of the engine-deck was open all around, and this was the part devoted to the reception of cotton bales, as cargo in freight, which is taken in at the landing-places of the several plantations along the river, for Mobile.

Above this lower deck, and stretching along fore and aft, over the engine, going nearly the whole length of the boat, (leaving only a small space in front for the boilers, which were close to the prow or stem on the lower deck) was placed the range of cabins for the passengers; with two tiers of bed-places on each side, one over the other, and a window opening from each, the centre of the whole length being used for the dining-room, and the ladies' cabin being cut off from this abaft.

All the interior arrangements were comfortable, as regarded beds and meals; but the tremulous motion communicated by the high-pressure engine, through all this range of cabins, occupying as they did the space which covered the engine itself, was so great as to render it almost impossible to write, and very difficult even to hold a book steady enough to read; while the extremely confined space around this upper deck, afforded little or no accommodation for walking, and made the confinement irksome in the extreme.

The appearance of the boat was far from handsome to the eye; without a projecting stem, cutwater, or figure head, with an upright stern-post, and stern as naked as the bow, she had nothing of the grace and beauty of the English steamers, in her model; while the openness of the lower deck all around, and the closed sides of the long range of cabins and windows in the deck above, made her look like a vessel whose planks and timbers had been taken away from her hull, from the water's edge to the upper deck, leaving this to be supported by a few bulkheads and upright central pillars. All the

works of the engine were thus exposed in the centre, when no bales of cotton concealed them, and when filled with cargo, the vessel had the appearance of a ship laden with goods, the side-timbers and planks being removed all around from the hold in which it was stowed, and leaving the cabin-deck closed above it. This piling up of deck upon deck, affords, no doubt, the means of carrying freight on the one, and accommodating passengers on the other, to a greater extent than would be united in any other form of building; and the frequency with which a few bales of cotton are taken in at the many stations along the river, makes it more convenient to roll in these bales from the river's banks to the lower deck, by the sides, than it would be to hoist them up and lower them down a regular hatchway; but it is only for river navigation, and for such a traffic as this, that such boats are adapted, as an ordinary gale at sea would soon demolish the whole fabric.

The first station at which we stopped on our way down the Alabama, was at Washington, a small settlement about sixteen miles below Montgomery, where 100 bales of cotton were taken in for Mobile. The crew were numerous, and very efficient. There were twelve white sailors, besides the engineer's department of five men, who were all whites; and twenty negroes besides. The seamen's wages were 40 dollars, or £8 sterling per month, besides their provisions. The negroes, who were all hired from different masters, were paid the same sum; but these poor creatures were scantily fed by the master of the ship, and badly clothed by their owners, who received

all their wages. They thus paid, probably, not more than five dollars per month to each negro for his apparel, or anything else he might need, and pocketed the 35 dollars as profit on the purchase-money invested ; while the white sailors and firemen received the whole amount of their 40 dollars of wages without any deduction ; such is the difference between a slave and a freeman in matters of labour and reward ! Notwithstanding this, it was constantly asserted by the passengers, that of the two, the negroes were better off than the white men, because they had no *cares* ; but when these individuals were asked, whether *they* would like to be “ released from all cares,” by some master taking from them the profits of their labour, and merely feeding and clothing them instead—they made no reply. As we proceeded down the river, the banks appeared very high, the bluffs, as they are called, being in many places more than 100 feet in elevation above the present surface of the stream ; and yet even these were nearly overflowed in one of the great freshets which occurred a few years ago. The river then rose ninety feet above its ordinary level, inundating half the town of Montgomery, though it lies high upon a sloping land ; but at the present moment the river was said to be from six to eight feet lower than it has been known for many years at this season. The current flowed at the rate of three miles an hour, the depth in mid-channel being not more than from six to eight feet.

Among the numerous trees of the forest which bordered the river in our course downward, the cypress was conspicuous, and the more so from the darkness of its foliage, and its being more thickly

hung with festoons of moss than any of the other trees. These cypresses have a remarkably protuberant base, the trunk rising from what appears to be a conical mound of earth, not unlike a beehive in shape, but formed of the roots, fibres, and wood of the tree itself. From this base the trunk rises in a perpendicular shaft, with little diminution of its diameter, till it attains a height of from fifty to eighty feet. At this elevation it first spreads out its horizontal branches like the arms of some huge giant, and these intertwine themselves among the branches of other trees, as if seizing them with a deadly grasp. At this season this has a most singular appearance, the cypress being in full dark foliage, while the branches of the trees it embraces are naked and bare of leaf, and some of them denuded even of their bark, so as to present the appearance of being death-struck, as it were, by its poisonous embrace. It is said, that in the valley of the Mississippi these trees grow to 120 feet in height, and have a circumference of from thirty to forty feet in their trunks ; but those on the banks of the Alabama, were never loftier than from eighty to ninety, with a circumference of from fifteen to twenty feet. The description of the tree and the circumstances associated with it are given with great accuracy by Hinton, whose details I had an opportunity of verifying, and they are sufficiently interesting to be repeated.

In the season of vegetation the leaves of the cypress are short, fine, and of a verdure so deep, as almost to seem brown, giving an indescribable air of funereal solemnity to this singular tree. A cypress

forest, when viewed from the adjacent hills, with its numberless interlaced arms, covered with this dark-brown foliage, has the aspect of a scaffolding of verdure in the air. It grows in deep and sickly swamps, the haunt of fever, mosquitos, moccassin snakes, alligators, and all loathsome and ferocious animals, that congregate far from the abodes of man, and seem to make common cause with nature against him. The cypress loves the deepest, most gloomy, inaccessible, and inundated swamps; and south of 33° latitude, is generally found covered with the sable festoons of the long moss, hanging, like a shroud of mourning wreaths, almost to the ground. It seems to flourish best where water covers its roots for half the year, when it rises from eight or ten feet depth of the overflow of rivers; the apex of its buttress is just on a level with the surface of the stream, and it is then, in many places, that they cut it. The negroes surround the tree in boats, and thus getting at the trunk above the huge and hard buttress, they fell it with comparative ease. No tree of the country is more extensively useful; it is free from knots, is easily wrought, and makes excellent timber, and planks of all sizes; and it is among the most durable of woods, so that it may be fairly regarded as one of the most valuable trees of all the southern country. It was not on the high lands, or bluffs, that we saw these cypresses, but on the low grounds farther down the river, where the swamps and marshes advance almost close to its banks.

These cypresses of America differ very much from the Oriental cypress, seen so abundantly in the Turkish cemeteries at Smyrna, Damascus, and other

large Eastern cities ; for that tree begins to shoot forth its branches within a few feet from the ground, ascending upwards rather than horizontally, after the manner of the *arbor vitæ*, and having their fullest foliage about half-way up their height, from whence it ascends with diminished fulness till it terminates almost in a point. These do not require the constant presence of water for their growth, as they flourish in the burial-grounds of the Mohammedans, among whom it is a common practice to plant a young cypress at the head of each grave, and to take the greatest care to secure its growth and perfection, by supplying it with soil and moisture when required. The Oriental cypress is the most beautiful: the American the most mournful, especially when covered with the weeping weeds and long funereal tresses of the wreathed and festooned moss; but both, from the extreme darkness of their foliage, seem to be appropriate emblems of sickness and death, and it was this fitness which no doubt led the Asiatics to select it for the solemn shade of their burial-grounds.

As we descended the river, the bluffs became less frequent, and the low lands more abundant. The few bluffs we passed were generally occupied as cotton stations, where a low-roofed shed would be seen on the top, and a cotton-press near, with accumulated bales waiting for some conveyance to Mobile, the port of shipment for Europe. From the edge of the bluff down to the water, rails were frequently placed on an inclined plane to slide down the bales of cotton for shipment, each planter having his own landing-place at some point along the river; and these, with wood stations, occurring every five to ten

miles. The chief cultivation all along the river is cotton and corn, and the labourers are all negro slaves. The average price of these at present is 500 dollars for the commonest description, and 1000 dollars for what are termed "prime hands." The number required for each plantation is, on the average, about one negro to every ten acres of cotton and ten acres of corn.

In the early part of the morning the fog on the river had been so thick that we could with difficulty see our way. The pilot and steersman, in these river-boats, are comfortably stationed in a framed-and-glazed house of about ten feet square, in which is the wheel for steering. This is perched up above the third deck, half as high as a frigate's fore-top, and brought so far forward as to be about one-fourth of the boat's length only from the stem, and three-fourths her length from the stern. This gives the steersman and pilot a better view of their course than if they were farther aft, in the usual way ; but as the communication between the wheel and the rudder is thus remote, the wheel-ropes are necessarily very long, and the labour of steering is very great.

Among the places passed on the first day of our voyage, March 15th, were Cahawba, Portland, and Canton. The first had been once the seat of government for the State of Alabama, and the capital or State-house is still remaining there ; but there are few other buildings, as, on the removal of the seat of government to its present site, Tuskaloosa, on the Black Warrior river, the small population of Cahawba followed. It is now in contemplation to move it

again to Wetumpka, as centrality of geographical position is the usual rule for fixing the place of legislature; but as this cannot be done without altering the Constitution, and this cannot be effected without the vote of a majority of the Legislature to call a convention for that purpose, it is thought probable that the removal will not be carried, yet at least. Portland and Canton are two very small and unimportant places.

When evening came, we had time to look around a little among our fellow-passengers, as, from the darkness impeding our survey of objects without, we were of necessity driven to other objects within. During the daytime, many of the passengers were engaged at cards, and large sums of money were lost and won in this occupation. Most of the company seemed to find the time hang heavily on their hands, and though some few read, it was evidently to kill time, rather than from any pleasure that it afforded them. This, at least, we inferred from the frequent breaks, risings up, and sittings down, with occasional dozings between. Tobacco was used by almost all the men, young and old, some lads of fifteen or sixteen chewing and spitting as much as their elders, and nearly all smoking as well as chewing, so that we were the only persons on board who did neither the one nor the other.

Among the passengers was a planter from beyond the Mississippi, who evinced a great curiosity to become acquainted with us, as he stated that we were the first English persons he had ever yet seen. He seemed to be glad to find himself quite certain that he had now seen real people from the "Old

Country," as he had passed his whole life in the interior, 200 miles beyond the great river, and would have something to say when he went back. Another of our passengers was a cotton planter, from the interior of Alabama, who was said to be worth 100,000 dollars, though his apparel certainly would not sell in any town of the United States for five dollars. He was about seventy years of age, had lost one eye, had only three or four teeth left, a sunburnt and wrinkled countenance, like parchment, with white locks hanging over his shoulders, a pair of scarlet cotton trousers, crossed with bars of deep blue, snuff-brown cotton stockings, shoes without buckles or strings, a short buttonless waistcoat, no braces, a nondescript coat, between a jacket and a surtout, no neckcloth, and a low-crowned and broad-brimmed brown hat. He was of a merry disposition, and communicative as well as inquisitive. He was particularly impressed with the fresh and healthy appearance of myself and family, as contrasted with the generally pale complexions of his countrymen, and asked us if all the men, women, and children in England were as robust and rosy as we were. I told him that the greater number of those who lived temperately, and took a proper portion of exercise in the open air, were so; and when he inquired into our mode of life, and found that we ate but two meals a day, breakfast and dinner, while he saw every one around him eating four—breakfast, lunch, dinner, and supper; when he learnt that we drank neither wine, beer, cider, or spirits, bathed or washed from head to foot once every day, took exercise for health, whether business required it or

not, and never used tobacco in any form or shape, he said he felt less surprised than at first, at our health and vigour, but he thought it must require great resolution and perseverance to pursue so "singular a course of life," as he deemed this to be. He admitted, however, that drinking, smoking, and chewing were injurious, but thought it impossible to break the habit of either when once contracted; and when I mentioned to him successful instances of abandoning them all, he seemed incredulous, and said he had never heard so much before. He thought it a great blessing that we had no negroes in England, as he believed they were enough to destroy any country. He was going down to Mobile, to receive money for cotton sold, and to make some purchases for his people; and when I said to him he would arrive in good time on Saturday night to go to church on the following morning, he said that he had never been in any church in all his life, and thought he was now too old to begin, though he had "heard a few preachings in the woods, but didn't much mind 'em."

We passed a restless night, from the violently tremulous motion of the boat rendering it very difficult to sleep; and on the second morning of our voyage, we found the fog on the river to be as thick as yesterday, though it was clear overhead and all around, the fog being confined to the bed of the valley. About daylight on the 16th we passed Claiborne, a small village on the left bank of the river, from which a public road goes off eastward to Sparta and Montezuma, the settlers of this State being as fond of fine names as their neighbours, of which the towns of Athens, Augusta, Florence,

Havannah, and Demopolis, all in Alabama, are examples.

It is about 200 miles before reaching Mobile that the low lands begin to be apparent on either bank, and here the swamps abound. The cypress flourishes in the greatest luxuriance in this region, and alligators and mocassin-snakes are frequent; one of the former was seen as we passed it basking in the sun, stretching out its length for twelve or thirteen feet.

About sixty miles before we reached Mobile we passed, on the right bank of the river, a solitary trunk of a tree, with all its branches gone, standing like a pillar in the wilderness. On the top, crowning it like the capital of a column, was an eagle's nest, in which the eagle was then seated; and one of the oldest pilots on the Alabama, who had been twenty years navigating the stream, told us that he remembered the eagle's nest as a landmark used by the pilots, when he first came upon the river, and he never recollected a single year in which the eagle did not brood over her young there, so that a sort of sanctity was now attached to the tree, which no one seemed disposed to disturb.

The principal fishes of the river are the sturgeon and the trout, both of which are abundant, large, and excellent; the cat-fish and the buffalo-fish are still more numerous, but are not so much esteemed. The shad, which are so plentiful in those rivers of Georgia and Virginia emptying their waters into the Atlantic, do not frequent any of the streams discharging themselves into the Gulf of Mexico.

About fifty miles before reaching Mobile, we passed the mouth of the large river Tumbukbee,

possessed the interior ; it was by the French settlers of Louisiana, that Mobile was first founded, and a fort built where the present city now stands.

The original charter granted by the crown of England to Georgia, covered, however, the greater part of this territory, from lat. 31° to lat. 35° N. ; and this so remained until long after the American revolution, when, in 1802, a cession was made by Georgia, to the general government of the United States, of all her Western Territory, between the Chatahoochee and the Mississippi rivers. In 1800, the whole of this tract was erected into a territorial government, under the name of the Mississippi Territory, which continued a distinct section of the Union until 1817, when, by an act of Congress passed in March of that year, it was divided into two portions, the westernmost forming Mississippi, and the easternmost Alabama ; the former enjoying the distinction of a State, from its greater extent of population, while the latter still remained a Territory. Within the next year, however, 1818, the increase of population was so rapid in Alabama, as to entitle it to admission into the Union as a State ; and, accordingly, an act of Congress was passed, empowering the people of Alabama to form a constitution, which being done, and ratified by the national legislature, the new State became a member of the great Federal Union.

Just previous to this period, and for a few years after it, the inhabitants suffered greatly from the hostile incursions of the Creeks and Seminoles, the two most powerful and savage tribes of Indians, by whom the territory was occupied. Their complete subju-

gation was only effected by long and sanguinary struggles, in which the troops of Tennessee, under General Jackson, subsequently president of the United States, took a conspicuous part. The Creeks and Seminoles dispersed chiefly into Florida, where the latter still remain in large numbers.

The State of Alabama, as at present constituted, is bounded on the north by Tennessee, on the south by part of Florida and the Gulf of Mexico, on the east by Georgia, and on the west by the State of Mississippi. Its length is 280 miles, its breadth 160, its area 46,000 square miles, or nearly 30,000,000 of acres; and nearly all this vast area is covered with productive soil.

The surface of the State is divided into three zones. The southernmost, or that bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, is low, level, and swampy, covered with pine, cypress, willow, and other trees. Within this, and at an elevation of from ten to twenty feet above it, succeeds a fine rich black soil, covered with trees of hickory, black oak, post-oak, dogwood, and poplar. Beyond this, still receding inland, and at a higher elevation, are the prairies, which are wide-spreading plains of level or gently-waving land, without trees, but covered with grass and flowers, and said to exhibit, in the month of May, the most verdant and variegated carpet, of beauty and fertility combined. In the northern parts of the State, the level is much more elevated, where the south-west extremities of the Alleghany mountains, coming down from Virginia and Tennessee, extend themselves into Alabama, and beautifully diversify the surface of the country. It is thought that in no part

of the United States is the scenery more agreeable, or the climate more dry and healthy, than in this hilly region.

The staple production of Alabama is cotton ; but the soil and climate are favourable to the growth of wheat, rye, oats, maize, rice, and tobacco, as well as indigo. It is thought that the sugar-cane, the vine, and the olive, might all be cultivated with success here, and in time they will no doubt enter into the productions of Alabama ; but so much profit is made at present from the cultivation of cotton, that it absorbs all the capital and all the attention of the people. Fruits of various kinds, from the fig to the apple, flourish abundantly ; mineral coal is found in the Cahawba and Black Warrior rivers ; and iron ore exists in several parts of the State ; while the number of its navigable rivers affords the best means of transporting all these various products to the coast.

The seat of government for the State is at Tuscaloosa, near its centre ; and the legislatorial body consists of a Governor, a Senate, and a House of Representatives. The Governor is elected for two years, and has a salary of 3,500 dollars per annum. The Senate consists of thirty members, elected for three years ; and the House of Representatives consists of ninety-one members, elected annually. The pay of the members of both houses is four dollars per day, besides their mileage, or travelling expenses, to and from the seat of government to their own homes.

The judiciary consists of a supreme court, of three judges, each paid 2,250 dollars per annum, and nine circuit courts, each with a single judge, at a salary

of 2,000 dollars per annum. The judges are all chosen by a joint vote of the two houses of the legislature, the circuit judges for six, and the supreme court judges for seven years. The supreme court has appellate jurisdiction only upon points of law, taken up from the circuit courts by writ of error. It sits at the seat of government. The opinions of the court are delivered in writing, and published by the official reporter. The circuit courts have original jurisdiction in all civil and criminal cases in their respective districts, and exercise chancery forms also ; a circuit judge being indeed the chancellor of his district, the districts comprising about six counties each. The courts sit twice in the year, in the spring and autumn, for about eight weeks at a time ; and in each circuit, there is a State attorney, who prosecutes offenders at the public expense, receiving a salary of 250 dollars per annum, in addition to his fees.

Education is amply provided for, by an appropriation of lands to raise funds for that purpose. By an act of the general Congress, passed in March, 1819, one section of the government lands, amounting to 640 acres, being the thirty-sixth part of each township, is appropriated exclusively for the support of common schools ; and in addition to this, two whole townships, of thirty-six sections each, were appropriated to the support of a State university. Of these 46,000 acres, about the half have been already sold, producing, with principal and interest, the sum of about 400,000 dollars ; and from the constantly increasing value of the lands, the residue will probably produce 600,000 dollars, making, therefore, a per-

manent fund or endowment of a million of dollars for the support of the university alone, in addition to the ample endowment for public schools by the 640 acres of land in each township.

Provision has also been made for promoting internal improvements in the construction of roads, canals, and bridges, and for improving the navigation of rivers. By an act of Congress, passed in March, 1819, it was enacted that five per cent of the proceeds of all sales of public lands, made in the State after the 1st of September following, were to be appropriated thus: three-fifths to be devoted to improvements within the State, and the other two-fifths to roads and canals leading to and from the State to either of the adjoining ones; and this is in full operation, under a board of commissioners.

The whole population of Alabama is estimated at 500,000, of whom about 300,000 are whites, and 200,000 slaves. The increase has been rapid, as in 1810 there were less than 10,000; in 1820 there were only 127,901, of whom 41,879 were slaves; and in 1830 the numbers were 390,527, of whom 117,549 were slaves; the free people of colour being very few at either period.

Of the religious bodies in this State, the Methodists appear to be the most numerous, having about 50 preachers, and nearly 50,000 members. The Baptists have 150 ministers, but not more than 10,000 communicants. The Presbyterians have 30 ministers, and nearly 2,000 communicants. The Roman Catholics have nine ministers; and the Episcopalians only three.

The principal city and port of Alabama is Mobile.

This was first settled by the French, who, in 1700, erected Fort Mobile, where the present city stands. In 1763, this port was ceded, by the French, to England; and in 1780 the English surrendered it to Spain. During all this time it was a place of little or no importance, except as a naval and military station on the coast. In 1813 Spain surrendered it to the Americans, and from that period its progressive improvement may be dated; as it did not then possess a hundred dwellings, and these were all of the humblest kind. In 1814 it was incorporated as a town; and four years afterwards it was advanced to the dignity of a city, with a charter and full municipal privileges.

There was for some time a competition between Mobile and a small town called Blakeley, on the Tensau, an eastern branch of the river of Mobile, about ten miles E.N.E. of this, as to which should become the great seaport of the State; and as Blakeley possessed many advantages over Mobile, in the greater depth of water and superior facilities of navigation, it would have been preferred; but the owners of the lands there overreached themselves by demanding too extravagant terms for their sites, and accordingly Mobile was chosen; and is now so far advanced as to be likely to retain its superiority.

The position of Mobile is favourable to health, and advantageous for commerce. It lies at the head of an open bay, into which the waters of the Alabama discharge themselves; and is therefore close upon the sea. It stands on the western bank of the stream, having two smaller islands in front of it to the east. The town runs along the edge of the

water from north to south, and recedes backward from east to west, covering in the whole an area of about a mile in length by three-quarters of a mile in breadth, as far as already built on ; the ground being laid out for streets and dwellings to about double this extent each way.

The plan is sufficiently regular—the chief streets of business, Commerce-street and Royal-street, with the wharfs for the shipping, are spacious and commodious; and the main street for private residences and general thoroughfare, called Government-street, is as handsome an avenue as is to be seen in the country, exceeding a mile in length from east to west, of ample breadth, from 100 to 120 feet, lined with rows of trees on either hand, protected by an excellent flag-pavement at the sides, and already ornamented with some exceedingly handsome public structures, and private mansions and dwellings.

Of the public buildings, the most prominent and the most beautiful is the Barton Academy. It has accommodations for about 400 students, and from the inspection which I was permitted to make, of the 200 boys there educating, (there being a department for females under other superintendence beneath the same roof,) I should say there were few better conducted academies in the Union. A literary society, called the Franklin Institute, has its hall of meeting in the same building. The whole edifice cost upwards of 100,000 dollars, and it is an ornament and honour to the city.

Of churches, the Presbyterian is the largest and most beautiful. Its exterior is not in the best taste, but its interior is unsurpassed in chasteness of style

and elegance of decoration in the United States. There is a singular, but at the same time a very happy union of the Egyptian and Greek, in the elevated platform, answering the purpose of the pulpit; and the semi-Theban and semi-Corinthian portico, which seems to rise behind the platform, with the rich diagonally-indented ceiling, and luxurious sofa-like pews, make this interior altogether the most strikingly beautiful I ever remember to have seen.

One of the most splendid of all the public edifices, however, is the Government-street Hotel, which when finished, will be much larger, and certainly much handsomer than either the Astor House at New York, the Tremont House at Boston, or the American Hotel at Buffalo, the three largest and handsomest at present in the Union. The hotels now in use are, the Mansion-house, the Alabama, and the Waverley; and the style of living at all these, as well as at the boarding-houses, is so like that at the same kind of establishments in the North, as not to need description. The charges, however, are much higher, three dollars per day being the rate of boarding, while two dollars is the usual price at the best hotels of the North.

The commerce of Mobile is confined chiefly to the exportation of cotton for Europe and the northern ports, and the importation of manufactures from the same quarters. The cotton crop of Alabama, for the last year, amounted to nearly 400,000 bales; of which about 100,000 were from North Alabama; and were shipped at New Orleans; the remainder, or 300,000, were from South Alabama, and these were

shipped at Mobile. Each bale weighs 450 lbs. and is worth, at the present market-price, about seventy dollars per bale, making the whole value of the cotton shipped at this one port only, about twenty-one millions of dollars in a single season. The employment which this gives to capital, shipping, and labour, may be readily conceived. The following extract from one of the Mobile papers during our stay there will show on what scale it is shipped :—

“**GREAT CARGO.**—The British ship *England*, Arkley, master, cleared from this port on Saturday, for Liverpool, with 3,000 bales of cotton under deck. Her burden (custom-house measure) is 827 tons ; and she received her first cotton on the 7th instant. The total weight of cotton was 1,353,414 pounds—averaging more than 450 pounds to the bale, and costing 195,863 dollars. Her freight-list is £4,165 sterling. We doubt whether a larger cargo of cotton ever went out of this, or indeed any other port.”

The population of Mobile is estimated at 25,000, of whom about half are whites, and the remainder slaves and free-coloured people. They are chiefly engaged in commerce, though there are not wanting the full proportion of legal and medical men ; but there are few persons disengaged from all active pursuits, and living a life of leisure. In their manners and style of living, the higher orders partake much of the hospitality and elegance of Charleston and Savannah ; and in this rank of society great intelligence, morality, and honour are to be found. But there is a large class of inferior persons belonging to the community, some natives of the South, but many strangers and sojourners, who are among the most dissolute and unprincipled of men. Accordingly

there are few weeks pass by without outrages which are shocking to persons of correct feeling; and during our short stay here the following cases occurred. I select the paragraphs from the newspapers of the day, as giving them all the requisite authenticity, having, however, other evidence of their truth, and having witnessed, indeed, the excitement and indignation occasioned by the transactions thus recorded. The following are from the Mobile papers of March 20th, and a few subsequent days—

“MURDER.—Public feeling was shocked yesterday afternoon at the commission of a most extraordinary and heart-rending murder. Mr. George Churchward, a highly respectable and esteemed commission-merchant, was instantaneously killed by the discharge of a pistol, shot from the hands of Mr. C. B. Churchill, also a very respectable merchant. The transaction occurred at the residence of the latter, in whose family the former boarded. The parties were in an apartment by themselves, and had but a few moments prior withdrawn from the dinner-table. From various indications, it would appear that the deceased was shot from the rear, the ball having entered behind the ear, and penetrated to the brain. We forbear from any comments, the foregoing is the substance gathered from the inquest. We understand, this morning, that Mr. Churchill has been admitted to bail in the sum of 5000 dollars. On this, also, we forbear remarking.”

“HOMICIDE.—An act of homicide was committed in our streets yesterday afternoon: George Churchward, a commission merchant, was shot dead through the head, by C. B. Churchill, a cotton-broker. We know nothing of the causes of the fatal act. We are pained and sickened at the repetition of these scenes, each one of which, happening with impunity, is another blow at the security of life and limb, which it is the first object of civilized laws to protect.”

“ANOTHER OUTRAGE.—ATTEMPT TO MURDER.—Mr. John Wylie, an old and highly respectable citizen, was yesterday shot by a Captain Taylor, who was in the employ of Mr. Wylie, as

commander of a schooner. The ball entered the eye in a slanting direction outward. Mr. Wylie was living last night, but great fears are entertained that the wound will prove mortal. Captain Taylor is in custody. We are sick at heart, at recording such frequent and horrid violations of the law in our city. Cannot these brutal outrages be suppressed? Have we laws, and can they not be enforced?"

"ORGANIZED BAND.—Great alarm and excitement have been caused in Mobile, by the settled conviction that there exists in that city an organized band of robbers, scoundrels, and incendiaries, whose determined object seems to be to riot amid ruin and distress."

The truth is, that the community want either the virtue or the courage to see the laws executed on the murderers; and thus it is, that criminals, being left to go at large on bail, make their escape for a season, and then return again. Even when they remain, the juries will not convict them; so that impunity is thus granted to the further perpetration of similar deeds. As an instance of this laxity in the administration of the law, I subjoin a short paragraph taken from the Mobile papers of about the same date, though relating to another place, but in the same Southern section of the country, in the neighbouring State of Mississippi—

"MURDER.—On the night of the 20th instant, a man named William R. Harper, was killed in a tavern, in Vicksburgh, by a person of the name of Tippo, the keeper of the tavern. They were both drunk, and in their madness they got to firing pistols at each other in their bed-room, one of the shots proved fatal. Tippo was discharged, as it was thought that he acted in self-defence."—*G. G. Advertiser.*

The habits of drinking, which are more or less the cause of the excesses here described, are more

openly practised and encouraged in the cities of the South than at the North. Grog-shops of the common order abound, at every corner of almost every street. Public bars, and confectionaries, as they are called, for the gentry, are nearly as abundant ; and in all of them numbers of well-dressed young men are to be seen smoking cigars, and drinking wine, spirits, and cordials, at an early hour of the day. The "Alhambra," and the "Rialto," give the aid of their classical names to establishments of this description ; and there is hardly a night passes by without a riot or a fight, or without furnishing occasion for a duel or a murder at some subsequent time. More than half the fires that occur, spring from the same cause ; for drunken habits among masters soon contaminate, by their example, servants and slaves ; and the riot of the one furnishes a temptation and an excuse for the excesses of the other. The following is a notice of one only, of two or three fires that occurred during our stay, of a week, in Mobile—

"FIRE AT MOBILE.—About two o'clock on Sunday morning, a fire broke out in the warehouse of Mr. Esclava, in Royal-street, between Government and Conti streets. The flames were not extinguished until they had destroyed the warehouse of Mr. Esclava, the prison in Conti-street, and a number of small buildings and a stable in the direction of Government-street. The loss by the fire, it was thought, would exceed 100,000 dollars. More than 1000 bales of cotton and 300 hogsheads of sugar were destroyed. Part of the property was insured."

It is matter of astonishment, that with such elements of demoralization and destruction so constantly and actively at work, a city could ever make progress.

But the resources of wealth within the reach of the community, and the eagerness of the more sober and industrious classes, to develop these with the utmost degree of speed, outstrip even the destroying elements, and produce accumulated prosperity in spite of the obstacles opposed to it. If these obstacles were removed, if intemperance were completely annihilated, and a sober, moral, and industrious population were to replace the dissipated, gambling, idle, reckless, and murdering class, the progress of prosperity would be much more rapid ; and what is of much more importance, the ground gained would be attended with corresponding moral and intellectual improvement, which now lags far behind, except among the select and honourable few.

My lectures on Egypt were given in Mobile in the new Presbyterian church, and were extremely well attended throughout ; the audiences averaging 500 each night. We received great kindness and attention from several of the most influential families—judges, merchants, and clergy. I attended one public dinner, the anniversary of the Hibernian Society, at which a large number of Irish gentlemen, settled in the city, were present ; and I had an opportunity of seeing all the fashion and beauty of Mobile (and there was much to admire in both) at a very brilliant concert, given by Madame Caradori Allan, at the “Alhambra,” where she sang with her usual sweetness and grace ; and was assisted by some dozen amateurs, vocal and instrumental performers of the place. Our stay here was, on the whole, most agreeable ; though we could hardly fail

to be painfully impressed with much that we heard and saw going on around us.

There are four daily newspapers published in Mobile, two morning and two evening, and a weekly literary gazette. They are all conducted with more than average talent, and are about equally divided in political opinion and influence—Whigs and Democrats. Though they disagree in politics, however, they have exhibited a remarkable unanimity in coming to certain resolutions for the protection of their pecuniary credit; and the record of this is so remarkable an exposition of the history and condition of newspaper publications in the United States generally, that I have thought it sufficiently curious to be given here. It is in the form of a manifesto, addressed to the public, issued in the first page of every paper in Mobile, and signed by the five editors and proprietors of the Patriot, Advertiser, Chronicle, and Examiner; and is as follows—

“On the 1st of June last, the undersigned, publishers in the city of Mobile, adopted certain resolutions, the object of which was to protect ourselves from the losses occasioned by an unlimited system of credit. We then flattered ourselves that if our debts were restricted to the city, and we made none in the country, with a little additional expense and trouble (which we were willing to undergo for the convenience of our customers,) we could get on very well. In this we have been disappointed. We have made the attempt, and the result is a deliberate conviction that such is the general carelessness in regard to the payment of printers' accounts, that we not only cannot live under the credit system, but can scarcely eke out the weekly cash-expenses necessary to the support of our establishments. A business which will not defray the expenditures incidental to it, is a poor one, and the time and labour expended on it are thrown away.

“A change of this, to us, starving system, is absolutely neces-

sary. Publishers, like lovers, are generally supposed to be able to live upon air; but even if we were disposed to try the experiment upon ourselves, we are not willing to make it on our families, or our creditors who are not publishers. The question then is, shall we abandon our occupations, or take measures to insure payment for what we do? We prefer the second alternative. For this object, we have adopted the resolution appended below, and which will become fixed clauses in our terms of publication—

“Resolved, by the publishers of the Mobile press, that from and after the 1st of October next, we respectfully notify the public, that no transient advertisement will be published until paid for; that all annual contracts for advertising and subscription, for city or country, must be paid for in advance, and all job-work to be paid for before delivery.”

On the last day of our stay in Mobile, there was an election for the mayor of the city. The present holder of the office was a Whig; and his own party wished to secure his re-election. The opposite party being supporters of the administration, wished to displace him; the election, therefore, was entirely of a political character. We had been assured by those resident in the town, that before noon there would be 500 voters drunk at least, and before sunset 1000. I had witnessed a Liverpool election for mayor, under the old suffrage of the freemen, and I had seen many other elections in England for members of parliament, in which drunkenness, riot, and disorder reigned; and I am bound to say that this municipal election for Mobile was just as bad as any of them, worse would, perhaps, be impossible.

Where a thousand men are drunk, under all the additional excitement of party spirit, scenes of violence are the natural fruits to be expected, and these were produced in great abundance. Let no man point to this, however, as the necessary result of

republican institutions. We can match them in England, under a monarchy; and the Church-and-King party in English elections are often the most drunken and riotous of the two. But they are equally disgraceful in either, and deserve equally severe condemnation. It should be added, that the elections in the Northern cities are generally free from the intoxication and disorder here described; though the institutions are there as republican as here. It is the free use of strong drinks that is the source of the evil; and where these are profusely distributed, whether in monarchies or republics, the effects are the same. In England we remove the military from the scene, to preserve the free exercise of the suffrage, though they are often afterwards called in to quell riots; but it would be much wiser to remove all the sellers of strong drink, and shut up their poisonous fountains, during an election, by which moral as well as political freedom and purity would be best secured.

CHAP. XVII.

Departure from Mobile for New Orleans—Passage through Mobile bay—Shipping—Pelican island—Myriads of birds and eggs—Steam-vessels employed—High wages—Arrival at the landing of Pontchartrain—Entrance to the city of New Orleans—French quarter—American quarter—Stay at New Orleans—Illness there—Former friends—Strangers and resident families—Sources of information, and visits to institutions—Public meetings to form a Sailor's Home.

ON Monday, the 25th of March, we left Mobile, in the steam-vessel Kingston, for New Orleans, starting from the wharf soon after noon. The weather was delicious, in the happiest combination of warmth and freshness, the thermometer at 75° , a fine breeze from the sea, and a balmy softness in the atmosphere, of the most agreeable kind.

As we proceeded to the south, we came, after a run of six miles, to the upper anchorage of the ships in the bay of Mobile, there being about fifty large and fine vessels anchored here in five fathoms water, taking in their cargoes of cotton, which are sent down from the town in boats, as there is not sufficient depth of water for large vessels to load at the wharfs.

After a further run of twenty-five miles, or about thirty miles below the town, we came to the lower anchorage of the bay, where upwards of 100 ships were lying at anchor, taking in their cargoes from Mobile. The ships varied from 300 to 800 tons

burden, some English, some French; but the greater number American; and finer ships of their class I have never seen. As they were all lying at single anchor, with abundance of space to swing, they spread over an extent of four or five miles in each direction, and presented an unusually magnificent spectacle; especially as all the ships were perfectly ready for sea, with their sails bent, top-gallant yards across, and in the highest possible order.

Having made good our offing to the south, we rounded several small islands, and hauled our course to the westward, for Lake Borgue and Lake Pontchartrain, this being the coasting route to reach New Orleans, as shorter and safer than that of entering the mouth of the Mississippi river. Among the islands was one called Pelican Island, from its being the abode of myriads of these birds, which breed here; and we were assured by the captain, that in the laying season, the eggs were so abundant on the shore, that a large ship might be laden with them in the course of a single day. The sands of the beach were of a snowy whiteness, and all the upper portion of the islands seemed covered with dense forests of trees.

Though we were sometimes ten miles from the shore, we had never more than five fathoms water; and the whole of the upper part of the Gulf of Mexico is thus shallow for a long way out to sea. When the winds blow off the shore, the waters are driven out, and return again with the winds blowing on the shore, the difference being as great as three or four feet in elevation, occasioned by the winds alone. The engines used in these steam-vessels are chiefly

low-pressure, and their crews are very efficient, so that they are perfectly safe conveyances, and few accidents occur. The wages paid are very high; the engineers get 200 dollars a month; the ordinary men from 60 to 80 dollars, and the smallest boys from 30 to 40 dollars; but as in other trades, this increased rate of pay leads generally to increased recklessness and extravagance in the receivers; and there are fewer men who lay by any portion of their wages here, than among the seamen of the North, who do not receive half as much.

We continued to make progress during all the night, and at five in the morning we reached the landing-place at Pontchartrain, about five miles to the north, or at the back of the city of New Orleans. The appearance of this landing-place is very striking. A number of long wharfs or jetties, built on perpendicular piles, project out, from one common centre, like so many rays, into the water; and at the end of these, the steam-boats lie. A railroad goes from the extremity of each of these landings to the centre described, for the baggage-cars and goods transported; and at the centre commences the larger railroad to New Orleans.

Here we re-embarked in the first train of cars, which left at half past six; and, going for about five miles over a perfect swamp or morass, through which the railroad ran, with impervious woods and thickets on either side, we reached, in half an hour, the outskirts of New Orleans. The avenue by which we entered the city was called *Les Champs Elysées*; and every thing that caught our attention reminded us strongly of Paris. The lamps were hung from

the centre of ropes passing across the streets, as in France; women were seen walking abroad unbonnected, with gay aprons and caps; the names of all the streets and places we passed were French; the car-drivers, porters, and hackney-coachmen, spoke chiefly French; the shops, signs, gateways, pavements, and passengers moving in the streets, all seemed so perfectly Parisian, that if a person could be transported here suddenly, without knowing the locality, it would be difficult for him to persuade himself that he was not in some city of France.

After passing through the French quarter, we came to Canal-street, which divides it from the American; and crossing this fine broad avenue, lined with trees on each side, the transition was as marked as between Calais and Dover. We had now got among a new set of people; the streets had American names, the shops and stores had American signs, and everything indeed was as thoroughly American as in New York or Boston. We found excellent accomodations at the St. Charles Hotel, and here accordingly we took up our abode.

We remained at New Orleans for nearly a month, and, upon the whole, passed our time usefully and agreeably. There was one great drawback to our pleasure, in a severe attack which I suffered, of quinsied sore-throat, which was epidemical in New Orleans at the time of our visit, and from which a great number had suffered. In my own case, I was for three days unable to articulate an intelligible sound, or to swallow even a tea-spoonful of water; but, by great depletion, losing twenty ounces of blood by the lancet, and about twenty more by eighty

leeches, applied at two different times to the throat, I was restored; and was fortunate in having the joint attendance of a young Irish physician, Dr. Johnston, whom we had known at Highgate near London, and of Dr. Luzenberg, who had studied medicine in Germany, attended the hospitals in Paris and London, and was accounted one of the ablest physicians of the South. The former gentleman was resident as a physician at Alexandria, on the Red River, and had taken his passage for that place from New Orleans, but hearing of our arrival here, he left the steam-boat, came on shore to see us, and determined to remain a week or two for the enjoyment of our society; and mutually interesting and agreeable it was, to a high degree, to talk over old scenes and old occurrences, to recapitulate old friendships, and old social enjoyments which we had shared together. I met here, also, a gentleman who was in Smyrna in 1812, during my visit to that city; and I enjoyed a similar pleasure with him in talking of old scenes and old friends in that remote quarter; while a great number of gentlemen who had been in England, and who had known me in London, some in the House of Commons, and others in Liverpool and elsewhere, came to renew their acquaintance, and to make our stay agreeable. We became acquainted also with a most delightful circle of resident families, to whom we had letters of introduction, as well as with many who did not want for this passport to seek our acquaintance; and we found among these as many intelligent, hospitable, virtuous, and agreeable persons, as we had met with in any of the cities of the North.

With the assistance and under the guidance of the friends by whom we soon found ourselves surrounded, I had easy access to every available source of information respecting the history and statistics of the State of Louisiana. By the same means also, I was enabled to visit all the public buildings and institutions of the city, many of which interested me exceedingly, and especially those of a charitable and benevolent nature; for, after all that I had heard of New Orleans, and its dissipation and profligacy, I had hardly expected to have found so many, and such excellent institutions of this nature, and so well supported as those which I examined here.

Our acquaintance with the visitors and transient population of the place brought us into contact with persons from all parts of the Union. In the hotel in which we resided, there were nearly 500 inmates, about 300 dining at the gentlemen's tables, and 200 at the ladies'. Our intercourse with the resident families was kept up by morning and evening visits, drives, and social parties. We had an opportunity of seeing something of the Créole population of the best class, in the French quarter, by an evening passed at one of Madame Caradori Allan's concerts, given at the St. Louis Hotel. The audience here was chiefly composed of families of French and Spanish origin, these being the chief patrons of music in New Orleans; and among the many elegant and beautiful Créole ladies present, (for the gentlemen did not form a third of the audience,) there were none who did not evince, by the bright and beaming expressions of their countenances, how much they

enjoyed the exquisite strains of this accomplished singer, as well as interesting and amiable lady.

The attendants on my own lectures, which were given in the Presbyterian church, in Lafayette-square, to large audiences, afforded fair specimens of the resident American families, as few of the French or Spanish Créoles understand English sufficiently well to comprehend a continued discourse; and their taste is not for the grave and the instructive, so much as for the gay and the entertaining. In addition to this, I attended three public meetings in New Orleans, at which were very crowded assemblies, composed of the best portions of the resident society; and with many of these we afterwards became intimately acquainted.

These public meetings had for their object the special recommendation of the establishment of a Sailors' Home for New Orleans. The first meeting was on the anniversary of the New Orleans Port Society, and was held in the Presbyterian church on the morning of Sunday, the 7th of April, it being the custom here to hold meetings for benevolent purposes on the Sabbath-day; the second was held on the evening of Friday the 12th of April; and the third on the evening of Sunday, the 14th of April, each at the same place. The last meeting was attended by a very large number, as many indeed as the church would hold, every pew and all the aisles being completely full, and many being obliged to go away for want of room. The lower part of the church was filled with ladies and gentlemen of the city; and the galleries were occupied by well-dressed and orderly

seamen ; there must have been at least a thousand of the former class, and from three to four hundred of the latter, present. The Collector of the Customs at New Orleans, Mr. Breedlow, as president of the Seamen's Friend Society, occupied the chair on each occasion, and the address on behalf of the proposed institution was confided chiefly to myself. A brief report of the proceedings at this last meeting was published in the Commercial Bulletin of this city ; and as it is generally accurate, and contains at least the outline of the facts and arguments adduced on this occasion, which may apply to almost every other seaport of the world, as well as to New Orleans, I have inserted it in the Appendix, as some benevolent friend of the neglected mariners of Europe, reading it there, may be induced, perhaps, by its perusal, to begin the work of founding a British Sailor's Home in the seaport nearest to his own abode.*

* The necessity of such meetings as these, for New Orleans at least, may be judged of from the following facts, derived from a statistical report, drawn up by Dr. Barton, an eminent physician and philanthropist here. There are in New Orleans, during the shipping season, never less than 5,000 seamen and boatmen constantly in port, and 30,000 visit it in the course of the year. They are drained of almost all their wages by the landlords of grog-shops and boarding-houses before they leave the shore, and spend nearly a million of dollars yearly in these haunts. In the very first street in which sailors land, there are more than 100 grog-shops ; on the Levée, every third or fourth house is engaged in selling intoxicating drinks. In 1835 there were licensed in New Orleans, 801 hotels and cabarets ; in number sufficient, if placed in a line, to extend eight miles in length, and completely to surround the city. In these there is spent, every year, on an average, the enormous sum of 6,884,800 dollars, deduced from official returns of the last three years ; and this amount is gradually increasing ! The further statistics on this subject will be found in the report alluded to in the Appendix.

CHAP. XVIII.

History of the colony—Florida—Arkansas—Missouri—Voyages of Ponce de Leon and Hernandez de Soto—Marquette, Herville—French Canadians—Mississippi company of John Law, the South-sea schemer—Cession of Louisiana by France to Spain—Sale of Louisiana to the United States—Present boundaries and area of the State—Soil, climate, and productions of its different parts—Pasture of cattle on the prairie lands—Population of Louisiana; numbers and classes—Religion—Legislature and judiciary of the State.

THE original colony of Louisiana, of which New Orleans is the present capital, embraced what now forms the Territory of Florida, and the States of Arkansas and Missouri, as well as the lands of the Far West, beyond these, to the Rocky Mountains.

As early as the year 1512, the Spaniards first laid claim to Florida, whose shores they contended had not been visited by Sebastian Cabot, as he had never gone so far south, and therefore the pretensions of England to the possession of this territory, they held to be wholly unfounded. At this period, the Spanish governor of Porto Rico, named Ponce de Leon, arrived on its shores, in the course of a voyage he was making in quest of a land, which was reported to contain a brook, or fountain, endowed with the miraculous power of restoring the bloom and vigour of youth to age and decrepitude. "Believing," says Grahame, from whose interesting history this

fact is quoted, "that he had now attained the favoured region, he hastened to take possession, in his sovereign's name, of so rare and valuable an acquisition. He bestowed on it the name of Florida, either on account of the vernal beauty that adorned its surface, or because he discovered it on the Sunday before Easter, which the Spaniards called Pasqua de Flores; but though he chilled his aged frame by bathing in every stream that he could find, he had the mortification of returning an older instead of a younger man to Porto Rico."

In 1523 the whole of this coast was surveyed with great care by the Italian navigator, Verrazzano, in the service of the French; and in 1538, the celebrated Hernandez de Soto made his journey into the interior, discovering, for the first time, the Mississippi river, and passing along its banks up through the whole of the territory now forming the State of Louisiana. They encountered great difficulties from sickness, and the hostilities of the Indians; by the joint operation of which, the chief and all his followers were gradually destroyed, and found a grave in the great Father of Waters, whose mighty stream they had been the first to discover and explore.

In 1673, a French monk, named Marquette, travelled as a missionary from Canada, and after a journey of many hundred miles, full of perils, he reached the banks of the Mississippi. He was followed by others from the same quarter, and the intelligence of their journeys being conveyed to France, an expedition was fitted out from thence, with every thing necessary for the establishment of a colony

here ; but it was unfortunately destroyed by a storm in the Gulf of Mexico.

In 1698 a second attempt to found a colony was more successful. On this occasion, a leader named Herville, arrived with 200 colonists from France, and formed a settlement in the Bay of Beloxi, about midway between Mobile and New Orleans.

In 1700 some idea seemed to have been entertained by the English, of forming a settlement on the Mississippi ; to prevent which, the French built their first fort above the Balize, as the entrance to that stream is called. Soon after this, an English ship-of-war, of eighteen guns, entered the river ; but being uncertain whether it was really the Mississippi or not, the captain inquired to this effect of the governor of the fort, who appears to have answered in the negative, as the British commander is said to have turned back in his route, and gone to seek the Mississippi farther west. The memory of this anecdote is preserved in the name given to the bend of the river where this happened, it being called "The English Turn."

In 1717 a company was formed in Paris, at the head of which was the celebrated John Law, of Lauriston, the Scotch financier, and founder of the South Sea Bubble, the Mississippi Scheme, and other wild and fraudulent speculations. Although his projects brought ruin upon his own head, and on those who were involved with him, they had a beneficial effect on the interests of the colony itself ; for they caused hundreds of the ruined speculators to come to the country, and thus bringing into it their

labour and intelligence, they laid the foundations of its future prosperity.

After some disastrous wars with the Indians, during which a horrible massacre of the whites took place in 1729, at Natchitoches, the charter of the Mississippi Company was surrendered to the king of France in 1732, at which period the colony contained a population of 5,000 whites and 200 blacks.

In 1754 the population was greatly increased by the arrival of emigrants from Acadia, now called Nova Scotia, from whence they had been driven by the tyranny of the British government. In 1759, others, from Canada, sought a refuge in Louisiana; and these united sources added much to the strength and welfare of the colony.

Soon after this, Louisiana was ceded by France to Spain; and although the settlers at first protested against this cession, and even refused admission to the first Spanish governor, yet they ultimately yielded; though signal vengeance was taken on the leaders of the resistance, some of whom were shot, and others immured in dungeons in the Havannah.

In 1779 war was declared between England and Spain, which led to many battles and skirmishes between the ships and settlers of these two nations, when the Spaniards were successful in taking Baton Rouge from the English, and in planting themselves at Mobile and Pensacola.

In 1792 the Baron de Carondelet was appointed governor, and under his administration the first newspaper was printed in Louisiana, under the title of "*Le Moniteur*." The culture of sugar was now first begun here also, and superseded that of indigo,

which had till this time been the staple production.

In 1795 the navigation of the Mississippi was opened by the treaty of St. Lorenzo, to the Western States of the American Union ; and from this period its commercial prosperity began greatly to advance.

In 1801 the colony of Louisiana was ceded back from Spain again to France, who did not, however, take possession of it till 1803, and that merely for the purpose of transferring it to the United States, to whom it was ceded by the treaty of Paris in April of that year, for the sum of sixty millions of francs. The population of Louisiana, which then included all Florida, the towns of Mobile and Pensacola, Arkansas Territory, and Missouri, was 49,474 in the whole.

In 1804 the territory was divided into two separate governments, the upper one being above latitude 33° North, being called the Territory of Louisiana, and the lower one, the Territory of New Orleans ; each governed by a legislative council.

In 1807 many thousand French emigrants from St. Domingo, driven out by the revolution of the blacks there, sought an asylum in this quarter, and largely augmented the French population.

In 1812 the united Territories were formed into the State of Louisiana, and admitted into the great American Union, with her present constitution, General Claiborne being made the first governor. In this year, too, the first steam-boat seen on the Mississippi, descended the river from Pittsburg to New Orleans ; and from these two epochas, the admission of the State into the Federal Union, and the

beginning of steam-navigation on the waters of the Mississippi, may be dated the rapid rise and progress of the whole region, in population and in wealth.

The State of Louisiana, as at present constituted, is bounded on the north by Arkansas, and the State of Mississippi, on the east by the same State, on the west by Texas, and on the south by the Gulf of Mexico. On the east of the Mississippi river, its boundary is the thirty-first degree of North latitude, and on the west of that river its boundary is the thirty-third degree. Its extreme eastern boundary is the Pearl river, and its western the river Sabine, while the Gulf of Mexico washes all its southern coast. Its length, therefore, is 240 miles, its breadth 210 miles ; and it contains an area of 48,220 square miles, or 30,860,800 acres.

There is no similar extent of surface perhaps in the world, that is better calculated for rich and profitable production, than this area of Louisiana, where soil, climate, and water all contribute to produce the highest degree of almost uninterrupted fertility. Beginning at the southern extremity, the mouths of the Mississippi exhibit the most recently formed alluvial tracts, where the first formations of soil by the deposits of the river, amid tall reeds and grass, are hourly going on, and the newly-created land is thus continually projecting itself outward in a pointed form, into the sea. Beyond this, inland, and especially along the river's banks, are the low lands, subject to annual inundation from the overflowings of the Mississippi. According to Mr. Darby, the average width of overflowed lands above Red River, from latitude 31° to 33° North, may be assumed at twenty miles,

equal to 2,770 square miles. Between latitude 31° North to the efflux of the Lafourche, about eighty miles in extent, the inundation is about forty miles in width, or equal to 3,200 square miles. All the country between the efflux of the Lafourche is liable to be inundated, which is equal to 2,370 square miles more. From this calculation it appears that 8,340 square miles are liable to be inundated by the overflowing of the Mississippi; and if to this be added 2,550 square miles for the inundated lands on Red River, the whole surface of the State of Louisiana subject to overflow will amount to 10,890 square miles. It is said, however, that though all this great extent is liable to inundation, and is all occasionally covered, there is not more than half that extent actually overflowed in any one year; yet, wherever the inundation extends, injury is rarely the result, but benefit, in increased fertility, is the almost invariable consequence.

Beyond the portions thus subject to inundation, are extensive prairies, without wood; and within these are found higher portions of land covered with trees, called pine-barrens, dry and healthy; while to these again, succeeds a rolling or wavy territory, presenting a succession of gentle hills and valleys, full of the richest verdure, and teeming with fertility.

The lands subject to inundation are most favourable to the production of rice, but for this purpose it is necessary to have embankments and sluices, so as to keep the water out, and let it in on the soil at the particular times required. To this cultivation about 250,000 acres of land are devoted. The lowest level above the inundated lands is best adapted for

sugar, and about an equal area of 250,000 acres is devoted to this production. The higher lands are occupied by the cotton plant; and ten times the area devoted either to rice or sugar, is allotted to the growth of cotton, namely 2,500,000 acres.

In the cultivation of sugar, it has been estimated that the average gain of the planters on each slave employed is from 350 to 400 dollars per annum, while in some very productive years, the gain has been equal to 600 dollars for each slave employed; so that supposing each slave to cost on the average 500 dollars, or £100 sterling, he would redeem his purchase in two years, and all the remainder of his life would be to the profit of his owner.

From 1783 up to the present time, the cultivation of sugar has gone on increasing. It is estimated that 150 millions of pounds of sugar are consumed annually in the United States; and that more than 100 millions of pounds are now made in Louisiana, Florida, and Georgia, but by far the greatest part in Louisiana. In this State alone there are about fifty millions of dollars invested in the sugar business, on lands, slaves, steam-engines, and other property; and as it is known that in 1810, the quantity of sugar made did not exceed ten millions of pounds, while in 1838, it was more than 100 millions of pounds, the increase in that period has been at least tenfold. The profit made on capital invested in the cultivation of cotton is said to be equally great, varying from twenty to forty per cent; and during the late high prices of this article, there are many estates on which the planters have realized fifty per cent per annum on the capital invested in land and slaves.

On the prairie lands in the south-western section of the State, bordering on Texas, cattle are reared in large herds, and many of the graziers there have several thousands belonging to one individual.

The population of Louisiana was, by the census of 1830, only 215,739 less than the population of the single city of New York ; and of these at least one half were slaves, 109,631 ; but it is thought to have been nearly doubled during the last ten years. Those in the upper settlements, remote from the river and the sea, are chiefly French Canadians, and their descendants, from the stock of emigrants coming here a century ago. In the middle part of the State there are many Germans ; in the lower part they are chiefly of French and Spanish descent ; but of late years, many of the handy New Englanders, and settlers from Ohio and Kentucky, have found their way to the luxurious plains of the South, and these are fast amalgamating with the earlier population, and so far changing their habits and characters.

The great variety of condition in these several classes has struck most travellers ; and it is said that in journeying from New Orleans to the Sabine river, men are met with in every stage of civilization. In New Orleans and other places on the banks of the Mississippi, the sugar and cotton planters live in splendid edifices, and enjoy all the luxury that wealth can impart. In Attakapas and Opelousas the glare of expensive luxury vanishes, and is followed by substantial independence. In the western parts of Opelousas are found herdsmen and hunters, whose cabins are rudely and hastily con-

structed, and the whole scenery around them recall to the imagination the very earliest stages of primeval life.

It may be readily conceived, that fruits and flowers exist in great abundance and variety. Among the former may be mentioned the peach, the fig, the orange, and the pomegranate; and among the latter, the rose, the magnolia, and the yellow jasmine. All kinds of garden vegetables also are easily produced, though horticulture is little attended to by any class of the settlers.

The predominant religion of the State has always been the Roman Catholic; the subdivision of the area being into twenty ecclesiastical parishes, each of which is supplied with priests from the old cathedral of New Orleans. Since the cession of the territory to the United States, and its incorporation into the Union, the Protestant sects have somewhat increased. They are still, however, much fewer here than in any of the older sections of the country, as may be judged from the fact, that throughout the whole of Louisiana, the Baptists have only 14 ministers, and about 1000 communicants; the Methodists, 12 ministers, and above 2000 members; the Presbyterians, 5 ministers, and about 300 communicants; and the Episcopalians, 3 ministers, and not more than 200 communicants.

The legislative body of Louisiana consists of a Governor, a Senate, and a House of Representatives. The Governor is elected by the people every four years. The qualifications require him to be thirty-five years of age, a citizen of the United States, and a resident of Louisiana for six years preceding his

election. He must possess a landed estate of the clear value of 5,000 dollars, or £1,000 sterling. No member of Congress, or person holding office under government, or minister of any religious body, can be elected; nor can any Governor be eligible to serve two successive terms. His salary is 7,500 dollars, or £1,500 sterling, per annum.

The Senate consists of seventeen members, elected by the people for four years; one-half being elected every two years. They must be twenty-seven years of age, have resided four years within the State, and hold landed property to the value of 1,000 dollars.

The House of Representatives consists of fifty members, elected every two years. They must be twenty-one years of age, have resided two years within the State, and be possessed of a landed estate of the value of 500 dollars.

The voters include every free white male citizen of the United States, of twenty-one years of age, who has resided one year within the parish in which he votes, and who, in the six months preceding the election, shall have paid his State taxes.

The judiciary consists of a Supreme Court, with three judges, each at 5,000 dollars a year; and eight district or circuit judges, at 3,000 dollars a year.

Louisiana sends only three members to the House of Representatives in the General Congress, (the State of New York sends forty,) this being the ratio of its population; but, like all other States, it sends two members to the Senate; all the States being equally represented in that body.

CHAP. XIX.

History of New Orleans—French settlers—Jesuits—British vessels—Cession of the city to Americans—First steam-boat—Rapid increase in population, shipping, and commerce—Contrast between the history of India and America.

NEW Orleans, the capital of Louisiana, and the only city or town of importance within the State, is a place of considerable interest, from its history, its position, and its general character, so different from that of any other city of the United States, or indeed of any other place on the American continent.

It was in 1718 that New Orleans was first founded. Previous to this period, the seat of government for Louisiana had been fixed at Biloxi, a spot between the Mississippi and Alabama rivers, on the coast ; but in this year, the French governor, Bien-ville, selected the present site of New Orleans for his new capital, and employed men to clear the ground, and erect the necessary buildings ; but, from various obstacles, the spot was not fully occupied till 1722.

In 1723, it was visited by Charlevoix, who came down from Canada, nearly all the way, by the Mississippi river, a journey of more than 3,000 miles ; and he describes it as consisting then of about one hundred cabins, placed without much order, a large wooden warehouse, two or three dwelling-houses,

and a miserable store-house, which had been used as a chapel; a shed being converted into the house of prayer. The population did not then exceed two hundred.

In this same year, many Germans who had come out under the delusive promises of John Law, the Mississippi schemer, augmented the numbers settled at New Orleans. They came down from the Arkansas river, where lands had been promised them, but which they were unable to obtain, and sought to find a passage back to Europe. The government, being unable to furnish this, granted them small allotments of land, on a part of the river called the German coast, where they settled, and where their descendants inhabit to this day.

In 1727, a large party of Jesuits and Ursuline Nuns arrived from France, and established themselves in a convent, on land granted to them in the city.

In 1763, the Jesuits were expelled from all the dominions of the kings of France, Spain, and Naples, by a decree of Clement XIII. and were accordingly obliged to leave New Orleans. Their property, which was seized and sold under an order in council, then produced 180,000 dollars; and it is said that the same property is now worth 15,000,000 dollars, at least, merely as land, exclusive of the buildings and improvements made on it; so great has been the increase in the value of land within the precincts of the city.

In 1764, British vessels first began to visit the Mississippi, for trade; and it is stated that they would sail up beyond the city of New Orleans, make the ships fast to a tree on the banks of the river,

and there trade with the native Indians, or the citizens and planters of the neighbouring country.

In 1769, the yellow fever first visited New Orleans ; and in the following year, the cold was so intense, that the Mississippi was frozen over for several yards on each side of the river. In 1785, the population of the city was 4,980. In 1788, on Good Friday, a fire broke out, which destroyed 900 houses, and created great distress. In 1792, the Baron Carondelet was appointed governor, and he introduced a spirit of enterprise and improvement unknown before. He divided the city into wards, lighted it, and appointed watchmen, erected fortifications, opened a canal, raised a militia, and gave a great stimulus to commerce.

In 1794 the first newspaper was published here, under a French title, "*Le Moniteur de la Louisiana*," though the colony was subject to Spain. Another extensive conflagration, and a hurricane, committed great ravages, and considerably retarded the prosperity of the colony. The population of the city was then 8,056.

In 1803, the city became American, by the cession of Louisiana to the United States ; and in 1805 it was incorporated by charter, and placed under the regular municipal government of a mayor, aldermen, and council. This gave so great an impetus to improvement in every way, that in 1810 the population amounted to 24,552, having trebled itself within the last seven years.

In 1812, the first steam-boat, called the *New Orleans*, descended the river from Pittsburg ; and from that period the commerce of the city has gone

on increasing with so much rapidity, that there are at present nearly 500 steam-vessels plying on the waters of the Mississippi, and about 400 ships and sailing vessels in the port of New Orleans, from all quarters of the globe. The tonnage of the port in the last year was 102,785 tons, and the imports and exports of the three preceding years were as follow—

Years.	Imports.	Exports.
1835 ...	13,781,809 dollars.	... 23,759,607 dollars.
1836 ...	17,519,814 „	... 36,270,823 „
1837 ...	15,117,649 „	... 37,179,828 „

The population has increased in a still greater ratio, as will be seen by the following statement—

In 1810	24,552	In 1825	45,336
1815	32,947	1830	49,826
1820	41,351	1835	76,242

At present it is estimated to exceed 100,000 ; the proportion maintained throughout all these periods being pretty nearly the same between the black and the white, their respective numbers being about equal, the former rather predominating of late, and going on increasing.

On the subject of the shipping and commerce of the port, more minute details may perhaps be acceptable, and these can be presented in an official form ; the following being the authorized statements, under the signature of the Collector of the Customs, published at New Orleans during our stay there, in the Louisianian of March 28, 1839.

AMOUNT OF TONNAGE entered at the Custom House at New Orleans, during the year 1838.		DUTIES ON IMPORTS, secured at the Port of New Orleans, during the year 1838.	
	Tons.		Dollars.
1st Quarter	133,316	1st Quarter	272,719
2d Quarter	130,020	2d Quarter	380,140
3d Quarter	46,649	3d Quarter	339,537
4th Quarter	136,731	4th Quarter	540,768
Total 446,731		Total Amt. for the Year 1,533,164	

Up to 1828, the greatest amount of tonnage entered in any one year was 57,000 tons.

VALUE OF EXPORTS from the Port of New Orleans, during the year 1838.			VALUE OF FOREIGN MERCHANDISE entered at New Orleans, during the year 1838.		
		Dlars.			Dollars.
1st Qr. ending 31st Mar.		18,615,327	1st Qr. ending 31st Mar.		2,951,863
2d " " 30th June,		13,394,996	2d " " 30th June,		2,576,553
3d " " 30th Sept.		5,895,825	3d " " 30th Sept.		1,742,827
4th " " 31st Dec.		7,510,583	4th " " 31st Dec.		3,408,768
Total for the year,		45,416,731	Total Amount		10,680,011
		(Signed)	J. W. BREEDLOVE, Collector.		
Collector's Office, New Orleans.					

If history and experience can teach us anything, surely these facts must be sufficient to show the superiority of free institutions and unfettered commerce, over despotism in government and monopoly in trade; though of such proofs the whole history of America is full. As a contrast, let us look at the fact, that, about two hundred years ago, the English East India Company obtained their first settlement in India, which was then a rich, populous, and flourishing country; and after two centuries of misrule and monopoly, Hindoostan is far less populous, and less wealthy, and its people are more impoverished, than they were then. About the same period, 1620, the Pilgrim Fathers landed in America, and found it a wilderness, peopled only by savages, without literature, laws, or trade. Under free institutions and unfettered commerce, it has now become one of the first countries in the world, and even in its infancy may rank side by side with the oldest nations of the earth. Such are the lessons which history teaches.

tail, waved its body to and fro several times, and then repeated the same operation as before. It thus measured its way, by repeated lengths of its own body, precisely as the Hindoo pilgrims do, when they vow to measure the ground, by the prostrations of their bodies, from the holy city of Benares to the sacred shrine of Juggernaut, of which, indeed, this little creature's movements strongly reminded us at the time.

At a distance of three miles from the Springs, we reached a neat and pretty village, called Union Court-House, where, in addition to the building from whence it derives its name, were from fifty to to sixty dwelling-houses, several new stores, two churches, one Methodist, and one Presbyterian, a large school, and about five hundred inhabitants. Nothing could exceed the beauty of its situation as a country village, with a rich soil, well-tilled fields, and noble mountains around it; its distance from the top of the Alleghanies, which lie directly west of it not being more than fifteen miles. There were abundance of cattle in the neighbourhood, many new houses were building, and the whole place had an air of activity and rising prosperity. Close by this little town is a large oak, which, from its size, is called The Mammoth Oak, it being the custom of this country to call every thing very large by the epithet of "mammoth;" so that one hears of a mammoth cake, a mammoth pie, a mammoth oyster—terms the most incongruous. This mammoth oak, however, is not more than twenty-two feet in circumference, which, though large as compared with oaks in general, is little in comparison with some of the cedars of

Lebanon, thirty-six feet in girth, and still more so in comparison with the baobab-tree mentioned by Adanson, found by him in Africa, measuring thirteen fathoms, or seventy-eight feet, round. The celebrated Arab traveller, Ibn Batuta, mentions having seen trees of such a size in Africa, that in the hollow trunk of one of ordinary dimensions he saw a weaver working at his loom; and in this country, Hinton mentions that Judge Tucker of Missouri cut off a section of the hollow trunk of a sycamore tree, applied a roof to it, and furnished it for a study. It was perfectly circular, and when fitted up with a stove and other arrangements, it made an ample and convenient apartment. Near the Natural Bridge in Scott-county, Virginia, is the hollow trunk of a sycamore, in which fifteen persons have taken shelter at once, and had plenty of room.

Beyond this we came to the first turnpike we had passed in Virginia, and certainly the tax was well repaid by the improved state of the roads near it. In the fields on either side of the way, buckwheat was chiefly cultivated, and it was now in full flower.

At twelve miles beyond Union Court-House, we crossed a stream called Second Creek, which goes into the Green-briar river, and this empties into the Ohio. Near to this was a hotel by the roadside, on the sign of which was inscribed "The Sugar Grove Inn, by J. Burdett." I asked here, whether the people made much maple-sugar in this neighbourhood; when the gentleman to whom my question was addressed, a planter of the neighbourhood, then on horseback at the inn-door, answered, "Yes, they do, I reckon, right smart," meaning in great quan-

tities. A little beyond this place, we passed over a large cave, which lay immediately beneath the road, the rounded hill over which we drove being hollow nearly all the way under us ; and some children, occupying a stall beneath a tree, had a large collection of stalactytes and mineral specimens, to sell to passengers as they stopped.

Not far from this, we came to a second turnpike, with a fine spring of water near it ; and just beyond was the first beer-shop we had ever seen in America. Our attention was attracted to it by the singularity of its sign. On a dull lead-coloured ground, there were portrayed, in the simplest forms, a round and a square mass, with a jug or pitcher emptying its contents by a stream into a tumbler. All the figures were painted of a deep-brown, without the least attempt at shading, so that they looked like Egyptian hieroglyphics, as they are often delineated in dead colours on their wooden tablets and sarcophagi, recognizable only by their shapes. As the driver of the stage halted here, we learnt from the keeper of the beer-shop, that while the pitcher and glass would explain themselves, the circular and square forms were meant to indicate that bread might be had as well as beer. The beverage, to which he had given this name, did not much resemble the beer of England, being made only of hop-water and molasses, without fermentation, so that it would not keep more than three days in draught, or a week in bottle, and it possessed no power of intoxication, however great the quantity that might be drank. It was, therefore, merely a sweet and bitter drink, which a vitiated taste might by habit be

brought to prefer to pure water, just as men bring themselves to like tobacco or any other nauseous drug. It had the advantage over English beer, of not intoxicating those who drank it, while it was quite as wholesome.

One of the most pleasing features of the rural population of this country is their universal sobriety, and decorum both of manners and speech, to strangers and to each other. In the thousands of miles we had travelled through the interior, we had scarcely seen a drunken man, and never a drunken group or party; nor had we witnessed half the quarreling, abuse, and profane swearing, that is to be seen and heard between almost any two post-towns in England. At the public tables, neither wine, spirits, or beer are placed; simple water or milk is the beverage of all; and although occasional instances occur of spirits being offered by the landlord of the hotel, this is very rare, and it is still rarer that they are accepted. In this absence of wines at the hotels, and of spirits and beer at both these and the farm-houses of the country, is to be found the cause of the general sobriety. If gin-shops and beer-shops were as multiplied in the villages and roads of this country as they are in England, many drunkards would be thereby created even here; and if they were reduced or abolished in England, just as many persons would be prevented from becoming drunkards there. The supply in this article of mischief, almost always precedes the demand; and persons are tempted to drink by the sight, smell, and offer of the liquor, who would neither need it, nor care about it, if it were not obtruded upon them by those whose love of gain

is greater than their regard for the public health, or public morals.

After quitting this spot, we entered a fine deep wood, where the oak, in its multitudinous varieties—of which there are no less than sixty in this country—the walnut, and the spreading spruce-fir, were the chief trees. Thousands of rhododendrons were spread around in the underwood of the forest, as far as the eye could reach on either side, for miles in succession, and they were larger and more abundant than we had ever yet seen them before. There were here also many trees that had been shivered by lightning, and one rent down in two, as completely severed in halves, as if by the axe, one half falling in one direction, and the other half in the opposite quarter, and each being stayed in its fall by other trees. The woodpigeon was also more numerous than we had before observed it; and we were told, that sometimes their numbers here exceeded all belief. I had myself seen such countless myriads of these birds in Egypt, and on the Nile, that I could the more readily believe what was stated to me of their numbers here; besides which, indeed, the best authorities corroborate the statements I heard from the lips of those who had witnessed what they described. Wilson, the American ornithologist, says—

“Several of the people informed me that the noise made by them in the woods was so great as to terrify their horses; and that it was difficult for one person to hear another speak without bawling in his ear. The ground was strewed with broken limbs of trees, eggs, and young squab-pigeons, which had been precipitated from above, and on which herds of hogs were fattening. Hawks, buzzards, and eagles were sailing about in great numbers, and seizing the squabs from their nests at pleasure; while from

twenty feet upwards, to the tops of the trees, the view through the woods presented a perpetual tumult of crowding and fluttering multitudes of pigeons, their wings roaring like thunder, mingled with the frequent crash of falling timber ; for now the axe-men were at work, cutting down those trees that seemed to be most crowded with nests ; and they continued to fell them in such a manner that in their fall they might bring down several others ; by which means the falling of one tree brought down two hundred young pigeons little inferior in size to the old ones, and almost one mass of fat. It was dangerous to walk under these flying and fluttering millions, from the frequent fall of large branches, which were broken by the weight of the multitudes above, and which in their descent often destroyed numbers of the birds themselves ; while the clothes of those engaged in traversing the woods were completely covered with the excrements of the pigeons."

Catesby, in his Description of Carolina, gives an equally remarkable account of what he had seen.

" I have seen (in Virginia) the pigeons of passage fly in such continued trains, three days successively, that there was not the least interval in losing sight of them ; but that somewhere or other in the air they were to be seen, continuing their flight south. When they roost, which they do on one another's backs, they often break down the limbs of oaks by their weight, and leave their dung some inches thick under the trees they roost upon."

Hinton's account of these birds is as striking and as accurate as either of the preceding—

" The most remarkable characteristic of these birds is their associating together, both in their migrations, and during the period of incubation, in such prodigious numbers, as almost to surpass belief, and certainly to have no parallel among any other of the feathered tribes on the face of the earth, with which naturalists are acquainted. Their roosting-places are always in the woods, and sometimes occupy a large extent of forest. When they have frequented one of these places for some time, the ground is covered several inches deep with their dung ; all the tender grass and underwood is destroyed ; the surface is covered with large

limbs of trees, broken down by the weight of the birds clustering one above another ; and the trees themselves, for thousands of acres, killed as completely as if girdled with an axe. The marks of this desolation remain for many years on the spot ; and numerous places can be pointed out, where, for several years afterwards, scarcely a single vegetable made its appearance. When these roosts are first discovered, the inhabitants from considerable distances visit them in the night with guns, clubs, long poles, pots of sulphur, and various other engines of destruction ; and in a few hours they fill many sacks, and load their horses with the birds. The breeding-places are of greater extent than the roosts. In the western countries they are generally in beech-woods, and often extend, nearly in a straight line across the country, a great way. Not far from Shelbyville, in the State of Kentucky—once included within the boundary of Virginia—a few years ago, there was one of these breeding-places, which was several miles in breadth, and upwards of forty miles in length. In this tract, almost every tree was furnished with nests, wherever the branches could accommodate them. The pigeons made their first appearance there about the 10th of April, and left it altogether, with their young, before the 25th of May. As soon as the young were fully grown, and before they left the nests, numerous parties of the inhabitants, from all parts of the adjacent country, came with waggons, axes, beds, cooking utensils, many of them accompanied by the greater part of their families, and encamped for several days at this immense nursery.”

Such is the abundant supply of animal, as well as vegetable food, with which this vast and prolific country teems in every part !

After passing three times, at intervals of a few miles apart, the winding stream of Howard’s Creek, over two of which were good bridges, and the other arrived at five.

CHAP. XV.

White Sulphur Springs—Beautiful valley—Extensive establishment—Statue of Hygeia—Parallelogram of cabins—Idle loungers—Evening ball—American dandies—Hotel-keepers—Journey to the Sweet Springs—Summit of the Alleghany mountains—Rivers running to the Atlantic—Rivers running to the Mississippi—Apalachian chain—Burning Springs—Sweet Springs—Swimming-baths—Effects of watering-places.

THE establishment at the White Sulphur is on a much larger scale than that of either of the Mineral Springs in the mountains, and is much more frequented, having at the present time upwards of 600 visitors, while neither of the others have 200. The situation is exceedingly beautiful; the valley being broad enough to admit of a large plain between the hills, on which plain herds of cattle and sheep were grazing; and these, with the fine trees scattered over it at distant intervals, gave it the appearance of an extensive park. The hills, though not lofty, are gentle, and finely undulated, and the views of the distant mountains are at once grand and beautiful. The spring, called the White Sulphur, from the whiteness of its deposit, is under a heavy and tasteless portico, with a cumbrous dome, supported by twelve plain and ill-proportioned pillars. The whole enclosure was small, gloomy, and dirty, compared

with those of the other Springs we had visited. The dome was surmounted, however, by a graceful and classic statue of Hygeia, presented by S. Henderson, and the water was as clear as crystal.

The principal portion of the buildings form a parallelogram, on the slope of a hill; the dining-room, which is about 200 feet long, being at the lower end, as well as the ball-room. This is much too small for the number of visitors. Beyond these extend the lines of cabins and cottages, which are occupied as bed-rooms. The several rooms are called after States and Cities. The old cabins are small and dark, the new ones are larger and lighter; some pretty ones have been erected on the higher part of the hill, for families, with ascending flights of steps and pillared porticos, which add much to the beauty of the whole. Some private mansions also are erecting for the permanent country-residences of wealthy citizens, which will still further improve the general appearance of the spot. There is one great defect, however, in this establishment, which we had not witnessed in any other, namely, that it has no drawing-room or general sitting-room either for ladies or gentlemen; so that, though some have to walk a quarter of a mile, from the most remote cabins to the dining-room, three times a day—all their meals being taken by the visitors in the dining-room, and none but the sick being served with food in their private apartments—there is no general place of retirement to which they can withdraw; all are obliged to return to their own bed-rooms, very few having the accommodation of a sitting-room adjoining it. Indeed, throughout America, the luxury of a private sitting-room is very rare,

and the habit of sitting, writing, and sometimes even eating, in the bed-room is very general.

The lawns, walks, and trees around the establishment were all beautiful and in excellent order, and the drives are varied and interesting also. The number of carriages and horses here, belonging to the visitors, were very numerous, and many of them were in use. The greater number of the guests seemed, however, to be at a loss how to pass their time. It was really melancholy to see the numerous groups of both sexes who were lounging idly about, too indolent of body for active exercise, too indolent of mind for animated conversation, and evincing an appearance of the greatest lassitude and weariness in every look and tone. The fare at the table we thought worse than at any of the other Springs, and the servants, almost all negroes, were both dirty and ill-disciplined. The only beds we could procure were mattresses stuffed with straw, and these hard and uneven. We had the same difficulty as usual in procuring any of the proper accompaniments of a bed-room, such as wash-stand, dressing-table, looking-glass, tumblers, &c., all of which are considered to be superfluities, and must be literally wrung from the attendants, who think it a great and unnecessary trouble to procure such articles, especially as they see so many of their richest guests quietly and contentedly do without them.

In the evening we attended the ball, where, in a small and crowded room, about 200 persons were literally packed. In addition to the animal heat from such a number in a small space, (the room moreover being very low, and greatly heated by the

number of lights,) the orchestra was filled by negro musicians; the bands being almost always formed of coloured people. Every door and window, at which, if unoccupied, fresh air might have come in, was crowded by the negro servants of the visitors, so that the heat and effluvia from such sources were far from agreeable. There was a great admixture of company also, more than I had thought likely to assemble at such a place. The majority were genteel in dress, appearance, and manners; but there were many coarse and vulgar persons, among the men especially, and some few among the women.

We saw here some of the most extravagant specimens of American dandies, of both sexes, that we had yet met with in the United States; and I doubt much whether London or Paris, productive as they are of each, could furnish anything more extravagantly ridiculous than the specimens in this place. One of the males seemed to be ambitious of rendering his appearance as much like a savage as possible; and had, therefore, suffered his hair, beard, and moustaches to grow uncut in wild luxuriance, and to all appearance uncombed; while his face, either from some artificial stain, or by more than usual exposure to the sun, had a reddish bronze copper colour, scarcely distinguishable from the complexion of an Indian. With all this, his attire was of the most fashionable cut, excepting an old battered broad-brimmed straw hat, which no one would pick up if they saw it on the road; and which he carried underneath his left arm, like an opera hat, lest he should disturb his uncombed locks by wearing it. Another of these caricatures of humanity seemed to

wish to be taken for an hermaphrodite, as his dress and appearance left you in doubt to which of the sexes he belonged. His garments were all of the most ladylike tightness and delicacy of material, and his waist was evidently compressed with tight-laced stays. His beard, if he had ever had any, must have been plucked out, for there was no sign of the use of the razor ; and his hair, which he put up at night, as we were told, in curl papers, hung down around his face in the most feminine ringlets ; while a white seam marked the place of its parting on the top of his head ; and his affected lisp and mincing gait were precisely those of a conceited young boarding-school miss. The third was a perfect nondescript ; but appeared to be an attempt to embody the most incongruous characteristics of the two sexes in one ; he was a tall thin man, about thirty, with a sportsman's dress, frock hunting-coat of light velvet, white corduroys, and yellow top-boots, with a huge knotted walking-stick, white-kid gloves, and full-bosomed frilled-shirt, with a fancy-printed muslin cravat. His face was long and narrow, his eyes large and protruding, and his complexion of deathlike paleness. His cheeks were hollow and sunken, so that they too visibly displayed the large rolling quid of the Virginian weed, which he thrust alternately, like an interior tumour, first against one cheek, and then against another, while the liquid of the tobacco was ejected once in every minute at the least, and sometimes oftener, on the floor of the ball-room, or on the dresses of the ladies, as it might happen. With all this, his long black glossy hair was placed in a flattened curve down each cheek, and turned up behind each ear, as

ladies usually wear it; while a third portion was made to come down over his forehead in a sort of crescent, forming altogether the most fantastic figure imaginable. The few female dandies we saw were not quite so ridiculous as the males; their peculiarities consisting chiefly in the extravagant excess to which they pushed the prevailing style of dress beyond its usual limits; extremely compressed waists, very low bodies, greatly exposed back, and perfectly naked shoulders, hugely protruding bustles, and artificially projecting busts, added to the most beseeching coquetry of attitude and manner.

It should be remarked that these were only excrescences on the general surface of the society here; I know indeed that their extravagances appeared as revolting to the greater portion of their own countrymen and countrywomen, as they did to us. In general there is not so much of dandyism in either sex in America, as there is in England or in France. The men are more grave, and not so polished; the women are more reserved, and neither so elegant nor so animated as in the fashionable circles of Europe; but when they break out beyond their natural or accustomed bounds, and set up for decided "Exclusives," they run into greater extravagances than the beaux and belles of England or France; and being without the refinement of manners which these last generally possess, they become more complete caricatures in the eyes of their own nation as well as of strangers.

I have often had occasion to remark on the independence of American hotel-keepers, and the reluctance of guests to make any remonstrances or com-

plaints, lest they should get a rebuff instead of a remedy ; but I never heard of this being carried to such a pitch as here. The visitors, indeed, seemed to put up with any thing offered them ; and the fear of being turned away from the establishment altogether, sealed all lips against public fault-finding ; though, in private, and among each other, complaints were reciprocally breathed and interchanged ; so that they contented themselves with sympathy instead of seeking for redress. Two characteristic and authentic anecdotes of this were told me, by a gentleman who came here every season, and was well acquainted with the facts. A stranger, who had come here for the first time, having an uncomfortable bed-room, and being put off from day to day, by a promise from the servants that he should fill the next best room left vacant, thought it best to go to head-quarters, and appeal to the proprietor, Mr. Caldwell, at once. Having done so, the answer he received was this. " Sir, I did not send for you to come to my house ; you came of your own accord, uninvited ; and whenever you think fit, you can return as freely." Another gentleman ventured to complain that the servants were inattentive to him at the table, and the remedy he obtained was this : The proprietor ordered his bill to be made out, and his horse to be saddled and taken to his bed-room door, with a message that his apartment would be required for another gentleman from that day forward ; so he paid his bill, and left the place accordingly. As far as I could learn, no instances ever occur of a resistance to this sort of incivility ; and it is this subservient acquiescence, on the part of the guests and visitors to

American hotels and boarding-houses, which appears to me to prevent all attempt on the part of their managers to improve them.

Immense sums have been laid out on this establishment; so that it is now thought by many to be worth a million of dollars. Certain it is that during the season, which lasts from three to four months, from June to September, the receipts are from 1,000 to 1,500 dollars a day at the hotel alone; and for stabling, carriage room, and purchase of articles at the store, 500 dollars a day more may be added; making the receipts 150,000 dollars for a season of 100 days, at 1,500 dollars a day. At the least one half of this, or 75,000 dollars, would be clear profit; making, therefore, 13 per cent. per annum interest, on a million of dollars, though probably not more than half that sum has been actually expended by the proprietor himself.

On Thursday, the 8th of August, we left the White Sulphur Springs, in an extra coach engaged for the trip, and proceeded to the Sweet Springs, distant seventeen miles from hence. We set out at ten o'clock, and for the first two hours we were occupied in ascending the steep western part of the Alleghany ridge, which rises on the east of the White Sulphur Springs, and forms the dividing-line between the waters that run west to the Mississippi, and those that flow east to the Atlantic, just as the Blue Ridge divides the waters in North Carolina. We reached the summit of the Alleghany ridge about noon, and the prospect from thence was extensive and beautiful, our elevation above the level of the sea being now about 4,000 feet, the valley of the White Sulphur

Springs, from which we had ascended, being about 2,700. The change that has taken place in the state of the country beyond this barrier, in less than a century, is very remarkable. The valleys west of the Alleghanies are now filled with hundreds of the gay and fashionable during the summer months; and planters and farmers reside in or near them in great numbers all the year round. Yet when in 1749 a wandering lunatic, who, though deranged, was harmless in his conduct, and therefore suffered to be at large, crossed these mountains from the east, and came back to tell of his having found the waters there all flowing to the west, instead of coursing their way to the Atlantic—he was not believed; and for many years no public or general confidence was placed in this discovery. In 1751 a small reconnoitring party crossing the mountains in the same direction, came to the waters of what is now the Green-briar river, which discharge themselves into the Kenhawa, thence into the Ohio, and by this into the Mississippi. They found here two white men, both natives of New England, living on the banks of the stream. Though these men were not many hundred yards distant from each other, and were the only white persons known to be in this region at all, it is remarkable that jealousy or fear should have prevented them, in this lonely exile, from becoming friends. They lived as much apart from each other, as both did from the world in general; and no intercourse took place between them beyond the morning salutation, when the one came out from the hollow trunk of the tree, and the other emerged from the log-hut, in which they respectively took their shelter

at night. Soon after this, the Virginians attempted a settlement here, but it was entirely cut off by the Indian tribes in 1763; and it was not until after the close of the revolutionary war, and the establishment of the independence of the country, that the region was again approached; since which it has been making a steady progress in settlement and cultivation.

These mountains are sometimes called the Apalachian range, which Mr. Jefferson says is derived from the name of an Indian tribe, called the Apalachies. The river Apalachicola, farther south, derives its name from some Indians of this tribe living on its borders. The whole of this region is full of natural curiosities, among which is a burning spring, found in the low grounds of the Great Kenhawa river, seven miles above the mouth of the Elk, and sixty-seven above that of the Kenhawa. At this spot there is a hole in the earth, capable of containing thirty or forty gallons of liquid. From this aperture there issues a bituminous vapour, so strongly impregnated with inflammable gas, that when a lighted torch or candle is put to it, it instantly ignites, and burns up in a column of flame, a foot and a half in diameter, which will sometimes last for three or four days before it is exhausted. There are also what are called syphon-fountains, as described by Mr. Jefferson in his Notes on Virginia, the waters of which ebb and flow, or intermit, once in every twelve hours.

In descending the eastern slope of the Alleghany range, we had before us a succession of rich and beautiful valleys, through which, and over gently intervening hills, the remainder of our road chiefly lay,

when, about two o'clock, we reached the Sweet Springs, where we halted to remain for the day.

This is the oldest of all the mineral springs of Virginia, having been frequented for medicinal purposes as long as sixty years ago,—a long period in American history. Its situation is the most beautiful of all, and its capacity for improvement is the greatest; so that if a judicious use be made of these advantages, it is likely to become the most attractive of all the Springs. The water has no sulphur in it; but a very small admixture of magnesia, soda, and iron. It contains a large portion of carbonic acid gas, which, in its escape, gives the brisk and sparkling appearance of soda-water. It is very agreeable to the palate, and its effects, are so gentle, that persons in health drink of it as freely as invalids. The temperature being uniformly 74° , it forms a delicious element for bathing; and as the spring is copious, two spacious and comfortably enclosed swimming and plunging baths have been provided, the ladies' bath being roofed over as well as enclosed on every side, and the gentlemen's having a part of the roof open, which is pleasingly shaded by the branches of a lofty tree. The baths are sufficiently spacious, about fifty feet by forty, and four feet deep. The bottom is good, the water is as clear as crystal, and is seen bubbling up from twenty different places, instead of being supplied by a single spring. The bathing-rooms are comfortable, and the attendance good; and with a buoyant and sparkling fluid, at the temperature of 74° , the bath is the most delicious to the feelings that can well be conceived, leaving a glow of health and vigour over the whole frame. The superin-

tendant of the bath, was an old Frenchman, who left Paris in 1789, after having been present at the destruction of the Bastile. He landed at Alexandria near Washington in that year, and has never been out of the State of Virginia since ; though now eighty years of age, he is as healthy and vivacious as any Parisian who had never quitted the capital.

The new hotel recently erected here, is one of the finest we had yet seen. It is a large brick pile, about 240 feet in length, and 50 feet in breadth. The lower story, which contains all the domestic offices, has in front an arcade, which furnishes a fine covered walk along the whole front, for exercise in rainy weather, and supports at the same time the noble piazza in front of the second story, where an open promenade of 240 feet affords ample space for the company in fine weather. The ascent to this piazza from the lawn in front, is by three large flights of steps, at three Doric porticos, one in the centre, and one at each extremity, all of good proportions and in correct taste. The floor of the second story, on a level with this open piazza, is devoted to a central dining-room, 160 feet long, 40 feet broad, and 20 feet high, capable of dining comfortably 500 persons ; and at each end are drawing-rooms 40 feet square. The third story is occupied by bed-rooms of good size, well lighted and ventilated ; making altogether one of the most complete establishments in the country. It is the intention of the present proprietor to build, as wings to this principal edifice, rows of cabins for those who prefer them ; and to lay out the grounds on a plan which will unite convenience with beauty ; and when finished, it promises to

be the most perfect resort for health or pleasure in the mountains. The fare we enjoyed here was excellent ; the mutton equal to the finest in England ; and all the food good, clean, and nicely dressed, while the attention of the proprietor and his servants was quite as great as that shown by landlords to their guests at English hotels, the only instance in which we could truly say this, during all our travels.

We had intended to have gone from hence to the warm and hot springs to the north, but the multiplicity of travellers moving in every direction, made it difficult to obtain either public or private conveyances for the direction wished ; we were, therefore, obliged to move, in many cases, as the stream flowed, and as the opportunities of making progress presented themselves. These baths are more frequented by invalids, however, than by persons seeking only pleasure ; as the warm bath is not so highly relished as a mere enjoyment by the people of this country, as it was by the ancient Greeks and Romans, and as it still continues to be by the Oriental nations. I had enjoyed the hot mineral springs of Tiberias in Palestine, as well as the artificially-heated baths of Aleppo, Damascus, Cairo, Bagdad, and Ispahan, the very remembrance of which is more pleasurable than the actual enjoyment of the imperfect warm baths of this country, though they have the materials here for forming the most luxurious baths in the world, had they but the taste to appreciate and design appropriate edifices and suitable accompaniments. But this, it may be presumed, will come in time.

The variety of the waters may be judged of from

the fact, that almost every range of hills produces a different kind. There are said to be no less than fifty, all within a small compass, though there are but three yet enclosed—the hot, the warm, and the temperate. The former has a temperature of 106° , which is less than that of most of the hot springs of Europe: those of Bath in England being 116° , those of Aix la Chapelle in France 143° , and those of Wiesbaden and Carlsbad in Germany 151° and 165° respectively. The warm springs of Virginia have a temperature of 98° , and this is the one most frequently used for bathing.

The invalids who visit these Springs are very few, compared with the persons who come here because it is the fashion, and whose only object is the pursuit of pleasure. Hence the greater number of the visitors are satisfied with a very short stay at each, finding it very dull and wearisome to go through the same stupid round every day. They all drink the waters, and that without the advice of any medical man; though there is generally a physician at each place, but he has little practice. Many it is believed really injure themselves by the quantity of the water they drink, though all benefit by the rough journey, the mountain air, and the unavoidable exercise, as well as the temperance which all practise; for we did not see a single glass of wine, spirits, or beer drank by any of the visitors, at either of the Springs, during all our stay in the mountains. The newspapers, which arrive regularly by the mail, help to pass a portion of the time; and one occupation of great interest to all parties appears to be the endeavour to find out, by inquiring from all comers and goers, how many visitors there were at the latest date,

at each of the Springs. Many take as much interest in the augmentation and diminution of numbers at their own and other establishments, as speculators do in the price of stocks, or the rise and fall of cotton; and others, who are fond of everything that is popular, regulate their movements very much by the intelligence they get as to whether visitors are increasing or decreasing at other Springs, and bend their way to them accordingly.

On the whole, it appeared to me that this habit, of families and individuals leaving their homes for three months in the year, to congregate together at fashionable watering-places, is productive of more evil than good to the morals and manners of any nation. That a temporary absence from the Southern cities in the hot months is desirable for health, no one can deny; and that such absences, even from the Northern cities at such periods, might be made beneficial, by the relaxation and recreation of both body and mind, few would dispute. But for this purpose, such absences should have some fixed object of pursuit and occupation connected with them. A tour of investigation through any particular section of country, directed to the prosecution of inquiries in any department of natural history, in statistics, in search of the picturesque, in the promotion of schemes of benevolence or of philanthropy—these, interwoven with the enjoyment of exercise, fresh air, and temperate living, would be wholesome food for the body and mind; and, if interspersed with occasional halts for a week or two, in some quiet nooks of rural beauty, would be favourable to the cultivation of the taste for simple enjoyment, and the solitude which is

so favourable to reflection. But as visits to fashionable watering-places are now conducted, they seem to me productive of evil. To the old, they either produce discomfort, from the perpetual round of frivolous amusements in which they are engaged, or they beget a taste for this species of pleasure altogether unbecoming their age. To those in the meridian of life, the fathers and mothers of rising families, they must present many revolting pictures of the utter waste of time, or else reconcile them to habitual trifling and inactivity. And to the young, of whom there are many between the ages of seven and twelve, such places are absolutely pernicious, introducing them thus early into the very hot-bed of dissipation ; the chief occupation of such children being that of eating and drinking uncontrolled at every meal, playing checquers or backgammon, and reading fashionable novels during the day, and dancing with partners of the other sex at night ; by all which, health is impaired, bad tastes are formed, and a premature developement is given to those very passions, which it ought to be the duty of all parents to curb and restrain. These are evils of no common magnitude ; and, although it is probable that the love of pleasure—the chief motive which impels both old and young to make such visits—will still continue to fill the fashionable watering-places all the world over, it may well make the anxious parent pause, ere he commit his offspring, voluntarily, to the influences of their annual resort.

CHAP. XVI.

Journey from the Sweet Springs to Fincastle—Ascent of the mountains—Magnificent views—Town of Fincastle—Cherry valley—Political conversation—New parties—Impracticables and Inexpressibles—Town of Buchanan—Purgatory Mountain—The Natural Bridge—Supposed fragment of an ancient cavern—American eagle overshadowing the British lion—The Endless Mountain—Peaks of Otter—Arrival at Lexington—Fairfield—Camp meeting—Greenville—Cyclopean towers—Staunton, oldest town of the interior—Waynesborough to Wyer's Cave.

ON the morning of the 9th of August, we left the Sweet Springs at ten o'clock, by the mail-stage for Fincastle, on our way to the Natural Bridge, and had the agreeable society of a family from Baltimore through the journey. Our way lay across three of the mountain-ridges belonging to the general chain of the Alleghanies, so that we were prepared for a slow and tedious journey, which we hoped would be amply compensated by rich and picturesque views ; and we were not disappointed.

Our ascent of the first ridge, called Sweet Spring Mountain, occupied us about four hours ; but it was four hours of continuous delight. The views grew richer and more romantic as we ascended ; and from the summit the prospect was surpassingly grand. The hour's descent of the mountain on the other side was also one of similar enjoyment, for the valleys

below us to the eastward were even more fertile and beautiful than those we had left. But the crowning triumph, of the romantic and sublime, was reserved for our ascent of the second ridge, called Prince's Mountain, which took us about four hours more to wind slowly up, halting at short intervals to give rest to our horses, and to drink in the splendid beauties of which the surrounding scene was so full. The grandeur of the prospect, and the depth and solemnity of its effect upon the feelings, were indescribable. I had crossed many loftier mountains than these—Lebanon in Palestine, and Zagros and Louristan in Persia, especially—but even in the former, rich and beautiful as it is in scenes of the greatest loveliness, they seemed to me all inferior to the unrivalled splendour revealed to our delighted vision, by the progressive winding ascent of the western slope of Prince's Mountain. As the road went zig-zag up the steep slope of this magnificent barrier, it was almost always overhanging a deep glen, and in some places seemed to be on the very edge of a perpendicular precipice. Dark valleys and towering trees appeared, therefore, constantly beneath us, in perpetually descending terraces, every variety of tint being communicated to their wavy surfaces by varieties in distance alone. As we ascended higher and higher up the mountain, every elevation of a few hundred feet, opened new ranges of hills, rising one above the other to the north and west, on the left and behind us; until, as we drew near the summit, a boundless view to the north-west opened to us, not less than fifty separate ridges of hills, rising one behind the other in irregular succession, each charac-

terized by some distinct feature in outline and colour, and the whole gradually receding into the blue distance, till land and sky were blended into one. The visible horizon was thought to extend 100 miles in that direction at least, and the vista comprehended every element of grandeur and beauty. It reminded me forcibly of some of the landscape illustrations of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, from the pencil of Martin, where mountain, piled on mountain, goes on with accumulated grandeur, rising above and yet receding beyond each other, till they are lost in the immensity of space; while the valley of the foreground has all the softest features of rural beauty, that could be expected to adorn the Garden of Eden! Magnificent as are many portions of these United States in their scenery, Virginia carries off the palm; and the territory of "The Old Dominion" not only forms the largest of all the States, but must, I think, be pronounced, by all impartial witnesses, to be the most grand and the most beautiful.

The descent of Prince's Mountain led us again into a rich and fertile valley, after which we crossed the third ridge, called Caldwell's Mountain, which, though not so lofty as either of the others, was yet full of interesting scenery; and at nine o'clock at night we reached Fincastle, having been just eleven hours performing thirty-three miles.

The situation of Fincastle, which we were enabled to see on the following morning, is very pleasing, the country immediately around it being gently undulated, and well cultivated, while ranges of lofty mountains are in view on almost every side. The hotel at which we stopped had the sign of the Boar's Head,

the first instance in which I had seen this ancient sign, so attractive to Falstaff and Prince Henry in East Cheap, adopted in America, where taverns are mostly called after the names of their proprietors, rather than by emblematic signs, as in Europe. The town contains about 250 houses, and 800 inhabitants, of whom, there are nearly 200 negro slaves ; these increasing in their proportion to the whites as you approach the Atlantic coast. There are four churches here, Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Episcopal ; a Court House, built of an octagonal shape, and crowned with a dome ; two large Academies, well attended by male and female students ; and a Weekly Newspaper of democratic politics ; this being the party to which the farmers of the interior chiefly belong.

We left Fincastle at nine A. M., on the 10th of August, the mail-stage waiting here all night for the accommodation of the passengers ; and when we had got a few miles beyond the town, the driver handed in to the passengers a number of newspapers, addressed to various individuals in and around Fincastle. These had been sent by the mail for deposit in the post-office there ; but having been overlooked, he thought it would not be worth while to return them ; and, therefore, he opened them all for the use of the passengers. So lightly, indeed, are newspapers thought of, as matters of personal property, that it is very common for the idlers of a village to go to the post-office on the arrival of the mail, and appropriate to themselves newspapers addressed to others ; and this is no more thought of, than the act of stopping a stage-coach near an orchard, to

supply all the passengers with fruit ; the indifference in both cases arising apparently from the cheapness and abundance of the articles thus misappropriated.

We were now entering on what is called the Cherry Valley, which runs up between the Alleghanies on our left, and the Blue Ridge on our right, all the way from hence to Washington city, and to the borders of Pennsylvania. The high road—the oldest coach-road, we were told, in the country—is called the Valley Road ; and one of the newspapers handed to us for perusal, was called “ The Valley Star.” The country was here almost wholly under cultivation ; and the farms were large, and in excellent order. One that we passed belonged to the family of Judge Taylor ; it comprised 1,500 acres, and was deemed cheap at 100 dollars an acre. Wheat was grown here of excellent quality, the average return being forty-fold ; some particular portions of the land yielding fifty bushels to the acre. An agricultural gentleman of the neighbourhood stated, that he had known in this valley as high a return as sixty-two bushels to the acre, but he admitted this to be rare : a single grain of wheat, under very peculiar circumstances, had been known to produce on several stalks, springing from the same root, no less than 1,600 good and perfect grains from all its ears ! A singular fact was mentioned respecting the maize or Indian corn ; namely, that no single grain can be made to germinate or grow alone. It is indispensable that it should be planted in some quantity in the same spot, to thrive at all ; without the influence of other proximate grains, it withers and dies. It is, in short, a kind of social plant, which

cannot be reared in solitude, and which attains most strength and vigour, all other things being equal, when it is planted in the largest masses, and over the most extensive area.

Our newspaper reading, as may be conceived, led us insensibly into political conversation; and I found here, as elsewhere, that the rich and the mercantile classes were nearly all Whigs; and the people of moderate fortunes, and the agriculturalists, nearly all Democrats. The difference between them, however, is not so much on the principles of general politics, as on the question of banks; the Whigs being for a national bank, a credit system, and paper currency; the Democrats being for the custody of the public money by a national treasury, ready-money transactions, and a metallic currency; while both, as usual in political controversies, carry out their doctrines to extremes. A new party is rising up, however, called by themselves Conservatives, who will not ally themselves to either. By both the old parties, however, these Conservatives are called "Impracticables." Mr. Rives, a distinguished senator from Virginia, has seceded from the Democrats, but not gone over to the Whigs, nor joined the Conservatives; and as he will not yet declare the exact position which he either now occupies or means to take, it is proposed to make him the founder of a new party to be called the "Inexpressibles."

About eleven miles after leaving Fincastle, we came to the banks of a stream, which formed the head waters of the celebrated James River, on which the first English settlement was founded by Sir Walter Raleigh, under the name of Jamestown.

Close by this were some of the largest and most beautiful weeping-willows we had yet seen, from sixty to seventy feet in height, and forty to fifty feet spread, and of the most graceful form. From hence there rose up, on the opposite side of the stream, an exceedingly steep and conical hill, called "Purgatory Mountain." Two miles beyond this we came to the small but increasing town of Buchanan. This is seated on the banks of the James river, and is at the head of its navigation. The river is crossed by a good bridge; and several boats laden with supplies, for Richmond, lay at the bank. The town has about 100 houses and 600 inhabitants. There was a militia muster as we passed through; but this body being highly popular here, we did not remark any of the extravagancies we had seen in New York and in Georgia, where the object of all was to bring it into contempt. On the contrary, the young men here appeared proud of their military display; and as, from the abundance of deer in the mountains, they have good opportunities of practising with the rifle, they could muster a company of 100 good marksmen, which would furnish an excellent quota to a provincial army, if foreign aggression or internal insurrection should render their services necessary. In every point of view this seems a better force for a free country to keep ready for its defence, than the standing armies of Europe.

After crossing the river, we passed an inn with the sign of "The Hobhouse Tavern," which made me imagine it must have been so named by some radical elector of Westminster, who had settled here at the time when its former member was more the

idol of the Democratic party than at present. The last signboard we had seen before this was "The Sugar-Grove Inn, by J. Burdett." The juxtaposition of these names, in this remote quarter, was at least curious. I could only learn that the name here was not that of the present proprietor, the person who had first established it having gone farther west, which is the constant practice of almost all British emigrants to these parts.

The road from hence was sufficiently rough and rocky to account to us for the name of Purgatory Mountain, along the foot of which it ran, as our progress never exceeded two miles in the hour; but after escaping from it, and passing through a rich and beautiful country, we arrived, about three o'clock, at the Natural Bridge, the whole distance from Fincastle being twenty-four miles.

We halted here, for the purpose of examining this remarkable object; and having sufficient leisure, and a competent guide, we had an opportunity of seeing it from the most advantageous points of view. Two steep and lofty hills approach each other, leaving a narrow but deep ravine between them; and about half-way up their height, these hills are connected by the mass of rock forming the Natural Bridge. The breadth across from hill to hill is nowhere more than 80 feet; and in some places less than 50; so that the length of the bridge is not more than 100 feet, and its breadth is about 60. Its grandeur consists chiefly in its height, which is 220 feet from the top of the bridge to the centre of the valley below; where a small stream, called Cedar Creek, runs along among the rocks. Its beauty con-

sists in the lightness and gracefulness of its arch, which is about 180 feet high and from 60 to 90 feet broad in different parts, the narrowest dimensions being at the bottom, and the broadest at the top. The thickness of the Bridge, therefore, from the upper level of the road, to the topmost curve of the arch, is about 40 feet.

As you pass over the Bridge in the coach, you perceive nothing of the deep chasm on each side, unless your attention should be particularly called to it; and even then you get but a momentary glance; as you are driven across the 100 feet, which constitutes the whole length of the Bridge, in a few seconds. When you alight from the carriage, however, and approach the edges on either side, the yawning gulf below excites terror in some, astonishment in others, and admiration in all: the height being 220 feet, and the sides of the cliffs perfectly perpendicular, with here and there a tree of considerable size growing to all appearance out of the solid rock, projecting its trunk and spreading branches upwards towards the Bridge, but not reaching within 50 feet of its summit. The very fear, indeed, which, in most of the spectators, this scene inspires, contributes to increase its sublimity.

The full effect of the grandeur which characterizes this remarkable object cannot be enjoyed, however, without descending into the valley, and viewing it from below. A winding but rocky path leads down from just beyond the hotel, by which, in a short time, you reach the depth of the ravine, and stand on the border of the running stream, on the south side of the Bridge. The view of it, as you look

upward, is beautiful beyond description ; and as its great charm is in the combination of vastness in scale, gracefulness in form, and lightness and airiness in proportion, no drawing, however accurate, can make the same impression on the beholder as the original. In this respect it resembles the pyramids of Egypt, which always look mean and insignificant on canvass or paper, but which have a sublimity, arising from their stupendous size, and a beauty arising from the simple severity of their form, that inspire one with admiration on the spot, but which cannot be conveyed by any transcript, however perfect. The view on the northern side of the Bridge, though different in some of its features, is equally beautiful with that on the south ; and both may be gazed upon for hours, not only without fatigue or weariness, but with increased pleasure, as it seemed to me, from dwelling on them.

It is on this side that is shown the place, where, a few years since, a young gentleman undertook the daring task of ascending the perpendicular cliffs, with the design of writing his name above that of "George Washington," which had hitherto stood higher up the cliff than that of any other person, and inscribed there, it was said, by the General, long before the revolutionary war, when he was an obscure individual, and a young man. The aspirant to fame succeeded in his object of passing beyond the spot where Washington's name was written, and inscribed his own above it. But on looking below to survey the height over which he had climbed, he conceived that it might be as easy and more safe to complete the remainder of the

ascent, than to retrace his steps ; and the resolution was thence formed to attempt it. His efforts were crowned with success ; but when he reached the summit, and threw himself prostrate on the earth above, he fainted, according to some, and lost his reason, according to others ; the name of this adventurous individual has not, however, been preserved. On looking at the spot, it would seem impossible for any one to accomplish such an ascent ; but the records of extraordinary daring are too full of acts of astonishing achievements, to make it easy to set limits to the personal energies of man, under peculiar circumstances of danger or excitement. No one here doubts, however, but that the fact was really and truly accomplished as described.

The fragment of a tree was shown us, quite close to the edge of the precipice, about two feet of its trunk only remaining above the ground. This is firmly rooted in the crevices of the rock, and marks the spot where this adventurous youth effected his landing from below. On this tree, we were told, a young lady from the South recently stood on one foot, turned herself round three times, waving her handkerchief in the air, giving three huzzas for Georgia, her native State, and challenging, as she might safely do, the other States of the Union to produce a lady who would beat this ; for not one person in a thousand would be able to attempt it without becoming dizzy, and not one in a million would be able to accomplish this feat, as performed by the iron-nerved and steady-headed young Georgian, the Amazon of the West.

All around the valley, both above and below the

Bridge, are large masses of fallen rock, which seem to indicate that a much larger portion of the space between the hills, was once covered with a massive roof, like the fragment which remains. What is now seen, therefore, is but the wreck of some ancient cave, every part of which has successively fallen in, except that which constitutes the Bridge, the fragments being successively rolled away by the stream. As you stand immediately under the arch, the smooth and rounded appearance of the under surface looks exceedingly like the roof of a cavern, and the slight twist or turning of the whole mass, as it does not stand with its sides perfectly parallel, strengthens that appearance. It is remarkable that the dark moss which has accumulated on the under surface of the arch, has spread itself in such a manner as to portray the distinct forms of an eagle and a lion; the former with its wings expanded, and the latter couchant. There is not the slightest appearance of art in either of the figures, nor is it easy to imagine that any one could ever obtain access to that elevated point to make the delineation. I believe them to be entirely the production of nature; but the forms are very remarkable, as the couching lion and the wing-spread eagle aptly represent the cessation of the ancient power of Britain over the "Old Dominion," and the succession of the American republic; the eagle being the national emblem of America, as the lion is of England.

The elevation of this valley is upwards of 1,000 feet above the level of the sea; the rock is limestone; and the country in which it is situated is called Rockbridge, from this remarkable object, which

forms the only pass across the ravine, for a distance of several miles. The scenery around is peculiarly beautiful ; the North Ridge, called by the Indians, from its apparently interminable length, the Endless Mountain, on the one side, and the Blue Ridge, with the Peaks of Otter, on the other. There are few spots on the globe, where beauty and sublimity are more effectively combined than here ; and no traveler should omit a visit to one of the most interesting natural curiosities of this extensive and magnificent country. Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, sixty years ago, expressed himself in language which may be as fitly used now, and repeated in all time to come, when he said—

“ If the view from the top be painful from its height, the view from below is delightful in an equal extreme. It is impossible for the emotions, arising from the sublime, to be felt beyond what they are here ; so beautiful an arch ! so elevated, so light, and springing, as it were, up to heaven ! the rapture of the spectator is really indescribable.”

We lingered around the Bridge as long as it was possible, and tore ourselves away with the greatest reluctance ; for I would willingly have passed a week in examining and enjoying it, if possible ; but we were compelled to proceed, and accordingly left it about six o'clock for Lexington. In our way onward, we had a commanding view of the Peaks of Otter on the Blue Ridge, which are considered to be the highest points of all the Virginia mountains, being 4,600 feet above the level of the sea ; the principal peak rising to so sharp a point, that it is said not more than twelve persons can stand on it at once. It is, however, well wooded nearly up to the highest

point, and is often visited by travellers, for the fine view to be obtained from the summit, there being a good horse-road to within about a mile of the top, but the rest of the way has to be performed on foot. We continued to have delightful scenery of hills and glens through the remainder of our way, and passed over the first canal we had seen in the South, this being constructed to navigate boats round the rapids of James river. At nine we reached Lexington, and there halted for the night.

This town was first laid out by an Act of Assembly in 1778, two years after the Declaration of Independence, and was called after the famous Lexington of Massachusetts, where the first blood was shed in the revolutionary war. It was built originally of wood, and in 1794 it was almost wholly destroyed by fire. Since then, the buildings have been chiefly of brick; and it has now the appearance of a well-built and thriving town. It is elevated 902 feet above the level of the sea, and is seated near the bank of the North river, a tributary of the James river. There are about 200 houses, and 800 inhabitants, with three churches—Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist. There is a State Arsenal here, containing 30,000 stand of arms, under the care of a captain and a company of thirty men. In 1782, a male academy was incorporated in Lexington, under the title of Liberty-Hall Academy; but in 1812, it was chartered as a college, and called Washington College. To assist it with funds, General Washington made a donation to it of 100 shares in the James river canal, which produced an annual income of 2,400 dollars; the value of these shares is

now 25,000 dollars. A private citizen of Lexington bestowed another donation of 50,000 dollars; and the Cincinnati Society of Virginia presented it with 15,000 more, making in all 90,000 dollars. It has three neat brick buildings, with accommodation for about 100 students, a library, and philosophical apparatus; and the education obtained there is good and cheap, under a president, two professors, and a tutor. There is a female academy also in the town, called the Ann-Smith Academy, which has a handsome edifice, competent teachers in the usual branches of female education, and nearly 100 pupils. There are three public libraries in the town; and everything wears an air of comfort and prosperity.

We left Lexington on the following morning, August 11, with nine inside and three outside passengers, so that we were sufficiently crowded. Soon after leaving the town, we crossed the James river by a good bridge; and beyond this, we had a fine road and a beautiful country. The Cherry Valley, in which we were still travelling, gave evidence of its having been long since cleared and settled; the fields on all sides were without the stumps of felled trees, which so disfigure the newly cleared lands, and all the fences, gates, and by-roads were in much better condition than they are ever seen in newly settled districts. By far the greater portion of the land was under cultivation, while in the less populous parts of the country the forest still covers nine-tenths of the soil. Towns and villages occur here every ten or twelve miles, instead of being whole days' journies apart, as they are in the remoter parts of the South and West.

At a distance of twelve miles from Lexington, we changed horses at Fairfield, a small village of about 500 inhabitants. We found it, however, almost deserted, as a large camp-meeting was holding within two miles of the town, and nearly all the inhabitants had gone there; the meeting being likely to last three or four days, as we were informed. From hence the road became again rough and rocky; but the splendid views of scenery repaid us for all our inconvenience from this cause. Noble ranges of mountains still bounded our horizon, right and left; while the rich open valley, growing gradually wider and wider as we proceeded, seemed to stretch away for fifty miles ahead of us in the distance. In our road, we had the usual variety of trees, principally oak, as well as the locust, the persimon, and the papaw tree. This last is sometimes called the Indian fig-tree. The fruit is something like a cucumber; but its form is more regular, and its skin smoother. It grows in clusters of four or five, and when ripe, it is of a rich yellow colour. The fruit was a great favourite with the Indians, and their taste, in this respect at least, was good; for while the pulp is highly nutritious, being of the consistence of custard, and having the same creamy smoothness, its flavour is rendered delicious by an admixture of sweetness and spice, so as to be too rich and luscious for many palates, though generally considered exquisite by all. We passed also many fields of broom-corn, so called from the upper part of the stalk being crowned with long and full fibres forming an excellent broom, but resembling in other respects the maize; and after a journey of twelve miles from Fairfield, we reached Greenville.

At this village, which contains a population of about 400 persons, we halted to dine, and were much better entertained than in many of the larger towns. Instead of the constant dish of boiled bacon and beans, which stands at the head of every country table, we had excellent roast beef and roast veal, good vegetables, and light bread. The landlady indeed seemed to take a personal interest and pride in her table, which few American mistresses of hotels do; and the result was, greater excellence in everything upon it, and greater satisfaction in the visitors. Not far from Greenville are some natural curiosities called, the Cyclopean Towers, said to be well worth examination, but which our engagements would not permit us to visit. We pursued our way therefore still over a rocky road, bounded on all sides by splendid scenery; and after another twelve miles we reached Staunton, where we halted for the night.

Staunton, which is 1,152 feet above the level of the sea, is one of the oldest as well as largest of the country towns of Virginia west of the mountains. It was founded by the British long before the revolution; and so early as 1745, a Court of Justice held its sittings in the Court House here, under the Colonial jurisdiction. Its streets are regular, being placed chiefly at right angles with each other; but they are narrower than is usual in the towns on the coast. This is attributed here to the desire that the original inhabitants felt to protect themselves more easily from the Indians, who at that period occupied the greater part of this valley, as well as the mountains, and who took every opportunity to attack the settlements of the whites. Staunton has now about 300

houses, and upwards of 2,000 inhabitants, with very few negroes, or people of colour. There are two Court Houses, one for common and statute-law cases, and one for chancery cases; a public market-house, and four hotels; four churches, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Episcopalian; one male academy, two female seminaries, and a primary school. A spacious and beautiful edifice standing near the entrance to the town, forms a lunatic asylum for Western Virginia; and an asylum for the deaf and dumb is also about to be erected. There is a weekly paper issued here, the "Staunton Spectator;" and the stores appeared to be all well supplied. In the hotel at which we slept, our bed-room was carpeted and papered, two things which we had not seen together in any hotel since we left England, as far as I remember; the bed-rooms of the hotels being rarely carpeted, and never both carpeted and papered too, that I can recollect, the walls being almost always whitewashed, and the carpeting being mere strips by the bed-side.

We were desirous of proceeding from Staunton to Wyer's Cave, it being only seventeen miles distant from this; but the number of persons travelling at this season, made it impossible for us to get extra coaches for the journey. We were, therefore, obliged to proceed on to Waynesborough, a distance of eleven miles to the eastward, on the mail-stage route, and trust to our getting private conveyances from thence to the Cave. We, accordingly, left Staunton at one o'clock, and, after a pleasant ride of three hours, we reached Waynesborough at four. Here we were fortunate in being able to procure two carriages and

horses, which conveyed our party and baggage to Wyer's Cave, a distance of fourteen miles in about three hours.

Waynesborough is a small and scattered village, containing about 500 inhabitants. It has three churches—Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist ; and there are several Dunkers in the town and neighbourhood, but these have no stated place of worship. On the road from it to the Cave, there are some rich and solemn woods ; and on emerging from one of these, we had a commanding view of an extensive and highly-cultivated plain, embracing, perhaps, 100,000 acres of the most fertile land, slightly dotted with clustered trees, like the finest parks in England, and presenting altogether the richest agricultural landscape that we had yet seen in the country. It struck us as more like the best parts of the Vale of Taunton, by the ruins of Glasstonbury Abbey, than anything to which we could compare it at home ; but being much more extensive in area, and bounded by much more lofty mountains ; I thought it still more resembled the beautiful plain of Damascus, though it wanted the meanderings of

“ Abana and Pharpar—lucid streams,”

as Milton appositely calls them, to make the resemblance complete. But as a rich and fertile plain, nothing could surpass it in beauty. A portion of it I understood was called the Long Meadows, for it is both pastoral and agricultural, being equally well adapted for both. We passed through the small villages of New Hope and Mount Meridian, on our way, reached the house at Wyer's Cave about eight o'clock, and found shelter there for the night.

CHAP. XVII.

Entrance into Wyer's Cave—The Dragon Room—Solomon's Temple—Falls of Niagara—Barney's Hall—The Lawyer's Office—The Armoury—Shield of Ajax—Twin Room—The Bannister Room—The Tan Yard—The Cathedral—Coronation Chair and Canopy—The Drum Room—Musical Sounds from Pillars—The Ball Room—Paganina's Statue—Jacob's Ladder—Congress Hall—Washington's Hall—The Crucifixion—Rock of Gibraltar—The Pyramids—Pompey's Pillar—Cleopatra's Needle—Julius Cæsar—Mark Antony—Leaning Tower of Pisa—The Theatre—Lady Washington's Boudoir—Hanging Mirror—The Church—Diamond Bank—Choir, and Steeple—The Gallery—Organ—Lafayette's Pew—Mount Blanc—Garden of Eden—Banian Tree—The Dining Room—The Wilderness—The Giant's Causeway—The Natural Bridge—Napoleon and his Guards crossing the Alps—Jefferson Hall—The Tower of Babel—Sir Walter Scott's Hall—Tomb and Library—Snow Hill—Minerva and her Shield—Niobe in Tears—Gothic Temple—The Fly Trap—Statue of Bruce—Sources of the Nile—Second Entry into the Cave when illuminated—Military Band—New effects of the moving groups and varied lights—Drunkenness and riots at the hotel.

WE remained at the hotel here for three days, during which we examined every part of Wyer's Cave at our leisure, going in on the first occasion with the regular guides, a son of the proprietor of the land, who conducted us through all its halls and passages, explaining and describing the several most remarkable objects as he went along, and affording us ample time for the most deliberate investigation, which was pursued in the following order—

The temperature of the Cave being usually about 50°, while the external atmosphere was now about 80°, it was thought prudent to put on warm clothing

for the descent; but as many parts of the interior are wet and dirty, from the continual oozings of water through the roof of the Cave on the soft clay, the gentlemen of our party, including a few visitors to the spot like ourselves, whom we found at the hotel, appeared to have collected their worst garments for the purpose, and some were arrayed in a manner the most grotesque. Hats were dispensed with, as an unnecessary incumbrance, and handkerchiefs tied closely round the head were substituted in their place. The ladies of our party, of whom there were now twelve in number, wore also their warmest dresses, some covering even these with old cloaks and coats. Bonnets and caps were placed in the catalogue of hindrances with hats, and left behind; and every fair face was enveloped with a shawl or handkerchief of some description, wrapped round the neck and head. Each individual was provided with a candle, to be held in a semicircular lantern, open in front and dark in the rear, in one hand, while a stick or umbrella was used by many as a prop or support in the other. A more motley group never appeared on any stage, than the party now assembled; but all were in high spirits, and good humour prevailed.

The entrance to the Cave is in the northern side of a hill, about 300 feet high from the base, and the ascent to this is by a steep narrow zigzag path, about half-way up the hill in perpendicular height, but measuring at least 100 yards in length, and only to be ascended on foot. A small gate, secured by a lock, guarded the entrance; before passing through which, the fee of a dollar for each person entering the Cave must be paid to the proprietor. From this

entrance, the descent is first made through a low and narrow passage, which gets gradually lower and lower, from ten feet at the beginning to about four feet in the middle. This obliged all who entered to stoop considerably, and almost to crawl down the latter part of the passage in a south-west direction, and at an angle of about 20° . At twenty-four feet beyond the entrance, the passage widens, and becomes more lofty, and this brings you to the first apartment. This is called the Dragon's Room, from a fancied resemblance of some of the stalactites hanging from the roof, to the creature whose name it bears. In this room, the centre of which is thirty feet high, there is a singular cavernous recess, overhanging the aperture from behind, which is called the Devil's Gallery, for what reason we could not learn.

From hence onward, the way leads through a long and narrow passage, sixty-six feet in length, three feet in breadth, and twelve in height. At the end of this is a perpendicular descent of thirteen feet, by means of a ladder placed there for the purpose. This brings you into a larger apartment, of irregular shape, about thirty feet long, forty-five broad, and forty feet high. This is called Solomon's Temple, from the abundance of the beautiful masses of stalactites, which are now seen in the richest clusters and most fanciful groupings all around. One portion of it has the name of Solomon's Throne, from its resemblance to an elevated and elaborately adorned seat. In utter defiance of the "unities," however, another mass of stalactytes has received the name of the Falls of Niagara, from their striking resemblance to a grand cataract foaming over a perpendicular cliff,

and suddenly arrested by the process of petrefaction in their descent.

To the left of this apartment, and nearly in the centre of the floor, rises a large isolated stalagmite, like a column springing from the ground, and this is called Solomon's Pillar. Still onward to the left, beyond this, is another apartment, the roof of which is thickly studded with the most beautiful stalactites, descending perpendicularly, of various shapes and sizes, but producing altogether an effect greatly superior to the fretted roof of any Gothic hall, or gorgeous chancel of any cathedral in Europe. When the lights of the party were all raised high against this splendid roof, it sparkled as if powdered with the dust of diamonds, and was altogether the richest thing I had ever beheld ; yet so unfortunate are the Americans generally in their nomenclature, that they could invent no better name for this exquisitely-roofed chamber, than that of the Radish-Room, from the pointed and tapering form of the stalactites dropping from it.

Retracing our steps from hence, back to the Temple of Solomon, we passed onward in the original line of direction, about south-west, and came to another ladder, by which we ascended a height of twelve feet, to an upper level. This brought us to what is called The Porter's Lodge, an apartment of inferior interest, lessening in height from thirty feet to ten feet, and being about fifty feet in length and fifteen in breadth. Here we entered the room called Barney's Hall ; the said Barney being an old Commodore of the American navy, who was rendered popular from some exploit performed with a cannon

at Bladensburgh ; the hero himself being represented by an upright stalagmite, and his great gun lying beside him in a prostrate stalactite, of a circular form, and of the ordinary dimensions of a ship's cannon.

The main passage of the Cave here turns to the right, in a westerly direction ; but if the visitor diverges to the left, instead of pursuing the main passage, he will find three highly interesting rooms, which are not always shown, but are well worth a visit. These are—First, the Lawyer's Office, a large irregularly shaped room, where desks, boxes, and parchment rolls, have suggested to the fanciful, the name bestowed ; and in which a delicious draught of water may always be procured by the collected drops of a pure crystal fluid oozing through the roof, and collected in a little reservoir below. Secondly, Bernard Wyer's Hall, so called in honour of the discoverer of the Cave, a hunter of this name, who, in 1804, while ranging these hills in pursuit of game, discovered this to be the retreat of a ground-hog, who had carried off his traps, and secreted them within the mouth of the Cave. The pursuit and slaughter of this animal, led Wyer to see enough of the interior of this cavernous retreat, to desire to explore it further, and by his enterprise its beauties were first brought to light. In the chamber or hall bearing his name, are two figures, which, by a little aid of the imagination, may be transferred into the daring hunter and his faithful dog. Thirdly, The Arsenal, or, as it is sometimes also called, The Armory, where a very beautiful incrustation of stalactitic matter has received the appropriate name of

The Shield of Ajax; and where other accompaniments of an armory may be traced around.

From this digression from the main course of the Cave, it is necessary to return again to Barney's Hall, and proceeding onward from thence, we came next, by a low passage of not more than five feet in height, to the Twin Room, in which there are two stalagmites, nearly equal in size and form, which gave rise to the name; and where a large and deep hollow, with a small aperture or entrance, is called the Devil's Bake-oven; it is so deep and dark, that we could not see the bottom of it. This room is very low, decreasing from ten to five feet in height; but it led us soon into a loftier apartment, about thirty-six feet high, where the stalactites are more uniformly regular and perpendicular than general, for which reason it is called the Bannister Room, and no name could be more appropriate.

At the end of this apartment, the passage is again lowered to four feet, and requires the visitors to stoop considerably; but we were soon relieved by arriving at a large open space, which obliged us to descend, by a ladder, a perpendicular height of thirty feet, into a large and lofty apartment, called the Tan Yard. This is one of the most beautiful and extraordinary of all the parts of the Cave we had yet seen. On the floor are several deep hollows, which suggested the idea of tan-pits; but that which particularly warrants the name given, is the collection of large sheet masses of stalactitic matter, of a lightish brown colour, hanging edgewise downward, like so many tanned skins, or hides of leather, suspended on rails or beams; the resemblance is perfect, and no

effort of art could make it more so. In this same division of the Cave, is a part, which is called the Cathedral, and not unaptly so, as there are many portions, where clustered pillars, lofty aisles, and groined roofs, with stalactites depending, well warrant the appellation. In this portion of it, is a double stalagmite, with a hollow seat between two upright pillars, like the ancient stone chair, in which the kings of Scotland were crowned, and immediately over this seat is the most beautiful canopy that can be conceived. It is circular in shape, and about the size and form of the sounding-boards suspended over the pulpits of the Episcopal churches in England; but its chief beauty consists in this—that the stalactites here fall in graceful folds like the richest drapery. The under part of the canopy is of a lightish-brown colour, from the admixture of ferruginous clay with the petrified mass; while all around its outer edge is a fringe of drapery still more soft and flowing in its folds, yet pure as alabaster, and white as the driven snow. This is called the French Crown, but the Coronation Canopy would be a better name. It is, however, the most extraordinary formation, for beauty of shape and material, yet seen in the Cave.

The next apartment to this is smaller in extent, and about twenty feet in height. It is called the Drum Room, a name it derives from a most singular wall or partition of sheet-stalactite, like the hides of tanned leather, before described; or the drapery of the canopy over the throne. The thickness of the sheets is not more than half an inch; but in this instance they descend from the roof to touch the

floor, though still preserving their waving folds, and resemble a curtain dividing two rooms. On striking the largest fold of this singular partition, near one of its sides, it gives out a deep sound, like that of a bass drum ; and as the succeeding portions of the same substance, which have their folds narrower and narrower, are afterwards struck, they give out other sounds, more or less grave or acute according to the diameter of the fold, each having its separate note, like the horns in a Russian band, or the pipes of a large organ.

At the end of this apartment is a flight of steps, by which we ascended seven feet perpendicular ; and this brought us to a narrow passage, not more than nine feet high. Walking through this, we came to a descending ladder of ten feet in depth, which landed us on the floor of the largest apartment yet visited. This is called the Ball Room. It has a slight curvature or sweep in its length, and runs at right angles to the passage by which we approached it. The floor, which is of hard and compact clay, is perfectly level, and the space being a hundred feet long, thirty-six broad, and twenty-five high, forms as fine a ball-room as most cities possess ; and far more curious, if not more beautiful. In this singular apartment, besides the rich stalactites which cover the walls and roof, there are two isolated pillars or stalagmites, rising from the floor. On one of these, called the National Candlestick, lights are usually placed ; and the other, called Paganini's Statue, is used for a music-stand, when balls are given in the Cave. There would be ample room for two hundred persons to dance at the same time here, without inconvenience, at a distance

of more than five hundred feet within the entrance of the Cave.

Leading out from this ball-room, is a singular little apartment called The Dressing-Room, to enter which, it is necessary to stoop very low, as the entrance is not more than four feet high. Immediately opposite to this entrance, is an immense pillar-like stalactite, descending from the roof, with its extreme point scarcely a foot from the floor, and resembling the straightened tusk of some huge mammoth of the antediluvian world.

In the ball-room are also portions bearing the names of The Side Board, and The Town-Clock, from resemblances suggesting these appellations. Leading onward from this room, is a gradual sloping ascent, of about forty feet, over a part which is called The Frenchman's Hill. It appears that some time since, a French traveller visited this Cave, and was conducted through it by the guide in the usual way. They had completed their examination of it, and were on their return out; when, on reaching this spot, the lights of both were extinguished, without their possessing the means of rekindling them. Fortunately, the guide was sufficiently familiar with all the passages, winding and intricate as some of them are, to be enabled to conduct the traveller safely through the darkness; giving this name, however, to the spot where the lights went out, to commemorate the event. An American gentleman hearing this story some time after, and believing, with that self-confidence which is so characteristic of the nation, that he could achieve the same feat, resolved to try the experiment; so, sending his companions a

sufficient distance ahead, to deprive himself of the benefit of their lights, he undertook to find his way out from the ball-room to the entrance, in darkness and alone. He had not proceeded far, however, before he lost his footing, and fell into a pit or opening, where he lay, not much injured by his fall, but utterly unable to make his distant companions hear his cries for their help. At length, however, these, finding his absence so much longer than they thought reasonable, returned to seek him, and finding him in the unexpected resting-place into which he had fallen, they lifted him up out of the pit, and from this circumstance they named it "Patterson's Grave," by which it will probably always be known.

Beyond this we passed through a long and irregular strait, called the Narrow Passage, which is fifty-two feet in length, from three to five feet in breadth, and from four to eight feet in height. At the end of this we found a descent into an open space on a lower level, to which we went down by a natural flight of steps, called Jacob's Ladder. As in this comparatively small apartment, they have made all things bend to this patriarchal nomenclature, they have absurdly enough called one of the objects, Jacob's Tea-table ! and another, Jacob's Ice-house ! From hence we passed again through another narrow passage, and by it reached a dark gloomy apartment, called the Dungeon ; the whole depth of this from the top of the ladder being about thirty feet.

From this we passed into a room, where a singular formation of a large horizontal sheet projects out from the wall, half way across the apartment, like an upper floor, constituting, as it were, a gallery

to the apartment below. This, no doubt, suggested the name given to the place, which is called the Senate Chamber ; and the again, most probably, led to the name of the adjoining room, which is called the Congress Hall. This room is an irregular circle in shape, of very uneven floor, and in some portions about thirty feet in height. In one part of it is a large sloping mass of rock, which resembles in shape, though miniature in size, the promontory on the Hudson river, called St. Anthony's Nose, and hence this projection is called by the same name ; while a small gallery above is denominated the Lobby, as an appendage to the Hall.

On the right of this, to the north, is a vast, deep, and dark recess, into which, it is said, no one has yet descended, so as to explore it thoroughly, from the air being found impure by those who have gone into it a little way, and it has the forbidding appellation of The Infernal Regions.

At the end of the Congress Hall, an ascending flight of steps, about seventeen feet in height, leads the visitor up to the narrow passage called The Lobby. It is said, that from this place there is an upper channel, leading all the way to the end of the Cave, but the larger and more beautiful apartments being below, the guides descend from hence by another flight of steps, about seventeen feet in depth, and bring you to one of the largest and most beautiful apartments of the whole, called Washington's Hall. Like the great Ball-Room, its floor is nearly level throughout, but it is of much greater length, of almost uniform breadth and height, and perfectly straight from one end to the other, its dimensions being

257 feet in length, from 15 to 20 feet in breadth, and about 30 to 35 feet in height. Nearly in the centre of this noble Hall, is a large stalagmite, with accumulations of calcareous deposit, rising up from the floor to a height of about seven feet. When the guides advance before the visitors, and place their lights around this at a little distance, it looks so like a fine marble statue clothed with flowing drapery, that there is great difficulty in persuading yourself that it is not a work of art, the material having that yellowish hue which old statuary marble exposed to a damp atmosphere acquires, and the form being such as to represent a hero or a warrior, surrounded with his robes of state.

The sides and roof of this apartment are full of beauties, and the columnar and other masses of stalactitic matter are so diversified in form and combination, that they have suggested the following very different and very distant objects, as being more or less represented.—The Crucifixion is the name given to three upright stalagmites, the central one taller than those on either side, and resembling the Saviour crucified between two thieves. The Rock of Gibraltar is represented by a huge mass of broken and fretted rock, not unlike the great original in shape; while the very narrow passage which lies between it and the adjacent mass, is called The Straits of Gibraltar. Within these Straits, and behind the Rock, is a formation of a tapering shape, called The Pyramids of Egypt; and at the farther end of the Hall, are some lofty spiral columns, which are called respectively, Pompey's Pillar, and Cleopatra's Needle. This again led to the naming two of the shorter sta-

lagmites of the statuary kind, Julius Cæsar and Marc Anthony. One of these spiral columns, however, of considerable height, leaning over several degrees from its perpendicular, and seeming in the act of falling, we proposed to call, from its resemblance to the great original, The Leaning Tower of Pisa.

Leading off from Washington's Hall, are two small but highly interesting apartments, the first of which, near the entrance on the left, is called The Theatre, from the several beds of stalactites having formed themselves on different levels or elevations, resembling, in some degree, the subdivisions of box, pit, and gallery, while, to make the theatrical arrangement complete, a small adjoining aperture is denominated The Green Room.

The second of these apartments, leading out from the Hall, and having its entrance nearly opposite to Washington's statue, is called Lady Washington's Dressing-Room; and in this is one of the most extraordinary formations to be found in the whole Cave. This is a mass of sheet-stalactite, which leans off from the wall at a distance of about a foot at the top, gradually lessening in distance till it touches the wall at the bottom. In shape, it is nearly a square, rounded off at the corners, being about three feet in diameter each way. It resembles, as much as possible, an old-fashioned mirror, placed against the wall, touching the wall at the bottom, but leaning off from it at the top, so as to admit of the spectator seeing his image reflected at the proper angle; and this mirror, moreover, is placed just at the proper height, as well as at the proper angle of outward inclination, to serve the purpose of a toilet. How, or in what

manner, this singular formation was produced, I could form no idea on the spot, and all present confessed themselves at a loss even to conjecture. In the same interesting apartment, is a recess called The Kitchen; a hollow in the wall called The Fireplace; and a little tabular bench called The Toilet, close by the mirror, around which are folds like drapery, and all this in the hard concrete matter, of which the whole of the interior of the Cave is formed!

From this chamber we returned to Washington's Hall, and, proceeding on to the end of it in a south-west direction, we reached a narrow passage, the height of which is considerably less than that of the Hall. Here we found a descent of about ten feet, after passing a little recess on the right, called The Bar-Room, from its possessing a pure and limpid spring; though, unhappily, the fiery liquid furnished by the poisonous and intoxicating fountains of bar-rooms, is so unlike the crystal water obtained here, that the name is most inappropriate.

Going down this descent of about ten feet, by steps prepared for the purpose, we landed in another large apartment, called The Church. This is 152 feet in length, from 10 to 15 in breadth, and 60 feet in height, and is altogether very splendid. At its entrance, on the left, is a mass of rock, so glittering with the profusion of small crystals formed on the surface, that it is called the Diamond Bank. At the farther end of the Church, is an elevation called The Choir, over which rises a fine whitish spiral column, springing up to a height of about 40 feet, and called the Steeple. About the centre of the church, in length, is a recess, high up in the wall, which is called

The Gallery ; and behind this, but in full view from below, are a number of perpendicular and columnar stalactites, varying in diameter like the front pipes of an organ, and giving out, when struck, or when a stick is drawn rapidly across them in succession, a variety of sounds at the pitch of different notes, grave or acute, according to the size of the pillar, and hence this is called The Organ. To give due honour to the illustrious Lafayette—who, in the minds of every American, is justly associated with Washington,—the General has a seat assigned to him in this church, which is called Lafayette's Pew.

Returning back a little through the Church, and turning to the left, we entered a very spacious, but not a remarkably interesting apartment, which is called Jackson's Room, in honour of the late President. From this, a narrow passage leads to a circular hollow recess, called The Confectioner's Room, from the resemblance which certain of the short thick columns there bear to sugar hogsheads.

Going back again from thence to the Church, and proceeding towards its further extremity, near the steeple, we turned off to the left in an easterly direction, by a narrow strait, into a circular recess, which is called the Entrance to the Garden of Eden ; and where a lofty and inaccessible rock has received the name of Mont Blanc. From this, a second narrow passage conducts the visitor into The Garden of Eden, which is extremely beautiful ; the stalactites depending from the roof, and the stalagmites ascending to meet them from the floor, being here more numerous and more perfectly corresponding, than in any other part of the Cave. Some of the formations are so

singular, that one has received the name of the Banian Tree. This stands near the entrance to a small recess leading out from The Garden of Eden, named Adam's Bedchamber. The Banian Tree is enumerated by Milton, in the *Paradise Lost*, as one of the trees of the Garden of Eden, and no tree could be better represented by the stalactitic formations, than that which he thus describes—

“ So counselled he, and both together went
Into the thickest wood ; there soon they chose
The fig-tree, not that kind for fruit renowned,
But such as at this day to Indians known
In Malabar or Deccan spreads her arms,
Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
About the mother tree,—a pillar'd shade,
High overarch'd, with echoing walks between.”

PARADISE LOST, Book ix.

On returning from The Garden of Eden back into The Church, we passed underneath The Steeple, elevated on an arch of ten feet, into a lofty apartment, fifty feet high, called The Dining Room. This has its name from a natural bench of the rock, with a horizontal slab, about the proper height and dimensions to form a convenient side-table. From this, we advanced onward through a rough and narrow pathway, called The Wilderness, where, though the breadth is not greater than ten feet, the height exceeds ninety feet, and is indeed the loftiest part of the whole Cave.

Above this, on the left, is a high mass or ledge of rock, called The Giant's Causeway, rising from twenty to forty feet above the lower level, and yet having from fifty to seventy feet from thence to the roof. Along this it is practicable to walk, and the

effect is greatly improved, if a portion of the party take the lower path, and one the higher, as their relative positions and lights enable each to see better than they otherwise could do, the grandeur of the proportions, and the magnificent altitude of the cave. Upon the edge of the precipice are several rising stalagmites, of different heights, so grouped as to have suggested the idea of Napoleon crossing the Alps, attended by his body-guard ; and, whether seen from above or below, but particularly the latter, the effect of this group, standing on the crest of a rocky eminence, and just passing the most difficult point, is very striking. That nothing might be wanting to make the romantic picture complete, there is, not far from this group, an open arch in the rock, over which the party above can pass, while the party below are going through underneath ; and this is appropriately called The Natural Bridge.

The passage through this brings you to the last grand apartment of the Cave, and on the lowest part of the whole, being about fifty feet below the level of the entrance at the mouth. This is called Jefferson's Hall. It is irregular in shape, and has several chambers and recesses leading out of it ; but its dimensions are on the whole, 235 feet in length from 30 to 90 in breadth, and varying, in different parts, from 15 to 90 feet in height.

Just as we entered this Hall, and on the right hand as we passed along, we saw an immense mass of stalagmite, rising from the ground, thirty-six feet in length, thirty feet in breadth, and thirty feet in height, of a rounded oval in shape, broadest at the base, and slightly diminishing towards the summit. The great peculiarity and beauty of this mass con-

sists in its being composed of several stories or stages, which are separated from each other by horizontal layers of crystallized spar, and from layer to layer, the space is filled up by perpendicular flutings, formed by the dropping stalactites descending from stage to stage. This is most happily denominated, the Tower of Babel; for though not strictly resembling the mass that yet remains of this stupendous edifice, on the plains of Shinar—on which I stood during my visit to the Ruins of Babylon—it is nevertheless very like the popular representations of the Tower of Babel accompanying the old editions of the Bible. The resemblance is the more striking, as the unfinished mass, like the original tower, never rose to its natural termination at a point, but seems like an edifice abandoned by the builders before it was complete. If this mass is strikingly beautiful in front, it is still more exquisitely so in the rear; and though the ascent to the cavity behind it is difficult, it is well worth the attempt to get there, as from it the whole structure is indescribably grand, and this one sight is quite sufficient to repay all the toil of getting so far into the Cave.

Behind and above this, are two deep and hollow recesses, forming separate apartments, but communicating with each other. The first of these is called Sir Walter Scott's Hall, and an elevation like an altar in its centre is called Sir Walter Scott's Tomb. The second apartment is named Sir Walter Scott's Library; and in the beautiful petrifications and incrustations with which the roofs and walls of these apartments are covered, may well be imagined the ancient armour, antique weapons, and heraldic and

baronial trophies, with which the hall and library of Abbotsford were adorned.

Further on, within the Hall, is another huge mass of stalagmite, nearly as large as that which is called The Tower of Babel, and partially resembling it in some portions of its formation, but having on the top a mass of the purest and most snowy white, while the general hue of the lower part is that dull yellow which marble acquires by long exposure to a damp atmosphere. This dazzling whiteness of the upper portion of the mass has caused it to be called by the very appropriate name of Snow Hill.

In the intermediate space between these two remarkable masses, and still within the apartment called Jefferson's Hall, are the following remarkable objects. The Half-Moon, where a crescent form is seen on the brown wall of stalactite, of purest white, just like the rising or the setting moon. Minerva and her Shield, and Niobe in tears, are names given to statue-like columns that have some faint resemblance to forms such as these. On the left, and nearly opposite to the mass called Snow-Hill, is a beautiful little recess, called The Gothic Temple, full of the most fanciful forms, and within it is a small spring, as if to furnish a fount of holy water for the worshippers. On the right, and beyond the mass of Snow-Hill, is a formation quite as singular and beautiful, called by some The Oyster Shell, and by others, The Fly Trap. These are two thin lamellar rocks of sheet-stalactite, oval or nearly circular in shape, and from five to six feet in diameter. Like the two shells of an oyster, these are joined at the smaller and inner end, and grow wider and wider

apart as they approach towards the larger and outer end, being at that point about three or four feet asunder. The inner parts of these singular sheets of rock are nearly smooth ; but the outer parts have the most fanciful formations attached to them ; the under one especially has a collection of many folds, like the bosom-ruffle of a shirt, or the full-lace trimmings of a lady's cap, depending in thin perpendicular laminæ, or edgewise, from the surface, and so translucent, that the light of a candle can be seen distinctly through them. Some portions of this mass are snowy white, while others are yellowish, and others brown ; but taken altogether, it may be regarded as one of the most curious and interesting of the many remarkable objects in the Cave.

Just beyond this point, is an opening or recess in the wall, at a distance of twelve feet from the ground, the ascent to which is made by a moveable ladder. By climbing up and entering this recess, we arrived at the termination of the Cave, at a distance of 2,500 feet from the entrance, counting the length of the several chambers and passages in a straight line, and the lateral digressions made on either side. Here there is a fine clear spring, the well or fountain of which is covered over with a thin pellicle of stalagmite, yet sufficiently strong to bear the weight of a person standing on it ; and by means of a hole through this crust or covering, the water is obtained. As this is the last point in the Cave, and one of the most difficult to attain, they have given the name of one of the most enterprising of travellers, Bruce, to a stalagmite at the entrance ; and they have called

this sealed fountain, which has been but recently broken, The Source of the Nile.

These were the objects seen by us in the order described, during our first visit with the guide, when we had leisure to examine everything, and were uninterrupted by others. On a second visit, however, we saw the greater number of them again, with some new ones that had escaped our former research ; as we entered it a few days after, in company with a large crowd of about 400 persons, and when the whole of the vast interior of the Cave was lighted up with 2,000 candles. This illumination of these subterranean halls took place on the 15th of August, at the expense of the proprietor, who keeps the hotel, and being extensively advertised in the newspapers, brought, of course, large numbers from the surrounding country, as well as some travellers from a distance to visit it. We remained for three days at the Cave, to witness this view. We had all anticipated, however, more of splendour than the reality produced. Instead of 2,000 candles, it would require 2,000 lamps to light it sufficiently, though 200 gas chandeliers would be more appropriate than either. We found the crowd also a hindrance and obstruction to our enjoyment ; and as a large number among them seemed to be wholly insensible to the beauty and grandeur of the scene before them, their impatience to get out again was excessive. One of the gentlemen, indeed—some said from haste, and others from a less excusable cause—fell into one of the yawning pits not far from the entrance, and received a wound in the head ; and after lying in the dark dungeon for

some time, he was at length drawn out, bleeding and fainting. The music—for on this occasion a band was introduced into the Cave—was too noisy, and the auditors were too vociferous, so that, altogether, we rejoiced heartily at having had the opportunity of a private view before this public one commenced ; though it was worth while to see it under both aspects, for the many new effects which the lights, insufficient as they were, really produced. One of these new effects, was the sight of some twenty different groups, of five or six each, at different points of elevation in the Cave, all with lights in their hands, some ascending, some descending, some stationary, and others sweeping around some difficult point in a long and winding train ;—giving the finest realization of what is sometimes attempted to be represented by scenery or canvass, in the delineation of robbers' caves and banditti, in melo-dramatic pieces on the stage, but here rendered more impressive from the constantly diminishing distance of the successive groups, and the hollow laugh, the noisy shout, and the dim receding murmur of conversation in the several moving parties of this living scene. Another new effect was the view which the long avenues of Washington Hall and Jefferson Hall presented, the former 257, and the latter 235 feet in extent, with at least 500 lights in view at one time. The descent into the former of these was strikingly impressive. Standing on the top of the flight of steps leading down into the Hall, the view below and before us was grand in the extreme ; and what greatly heightened its beauty, was a very ingenious arrangement on the part of the person who lighted up the

Cave, who, after placing 400 lights along the two sides, carried up 100 lights on the inclined pillar, which we had called *The Leaning Tower of Pisa*, at the end of the Hall: and this, at a distance, gave the idea of a steep ascending and winding road, dwindling away at an almost interminable distance. Those who have remarked the fine effect of the wavy lines of lamps, in the unlevel streets at the west end of London, on a dark night—where every difference in the elevation or depression of the level of the surface, is indicated by a corresponding elevation or depression of the lights—will fully appreciate the great additional beauty which this ingenious lighting up of the tower produced, to the eye of the distant spectator, at the opposite extremity of the Hall.

Altogether, this Cave may be regarded as one of the most extraordinary productions of this or any other country; and it is alone well worth a voyage across the Atlantic to visit. There are many other caves in Virginia—for the ridges of the Alleghanies formed, as they are, of cavernous limestone, are full of them—but none are thought so grand or beautiful as this. One of these, called *Madison's Cave*, is close by this of *Wyer's*, and you pass the entrance of it in going from the hotel. This is said to be very large, but dark, gloomy, and dangerous. It has lakes in it of thirty and forty feet in depth, across which men have gone in boats, and found inaccessible barriers of rock on the opposite side; but the sound of rushing waters is heard in the vast space beyond. This cave was known many years before *Wyer* had discovered the one that now bears his name, though the entrances of each are not a

quarter of a mile apart. Madison's is described by Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, as being from forty to fifty feet high, and having its sides clothed with incrustations formed by the percolation of water through the roof, in the shape of elegant drapery.

We returned home from our second visit to the Cave much exhausted, and should have been glad to enjoy tranquillity and repose. But this was a luxury denied to us. We had made arrangements for our carriages to come for us on the day following the illumination, and could not now, therefore, get away before. We regretted deeply the necessity of our stay; for, during all the afternoon, scenes of riot and drunkenness among the young men from the surrounding country—who had visited the Cave, for the sake of seeing the company—were almost unintermitted; and as the landlord of the hotel, and proprietor of the Cave, Mr. Jacob Mohler, placed no restraint on the supply of ardent spirits to all who chose to pay for it at the bar, the drunkenness became more and more general. At length, we saw from our bed-room window, in the green lawn before the house, a regular ring formed, and a pugilistic encounter between the landlord and one of his guests. The drunken visitors seemed to enjoy the sport, till the screams of Mrs. Mohler, who soon heard of her husband's position, induced a few of the more sober to interfere, and part the combatants.

From that hour, about six in the evening, till we left the house, in the carriages which had been sent for us at nine the following morning, there was not a moment of peace. A ball had been advertised as a part of the entertainments of the day, to which

the drunken revellers insisted on their admission ; and though the entrance fee was two dollars and a half for each person, besides paying for the refreshments, this deterred none. What surprised us most was, after all that we had heard of the ultra-delicacy and decorum of the American ladies, that these reeling bacchanals should find partners among them, which they did ; and by their joint efforts, the dancing was kept up till daylight on the following morning ; nor indeed had all of them entirely retired when we left the place, which we did with great joy, to escape from such painful associations. Candour and justice towards the American people generally, however, renders it necessary to state, that this was the only scene of the kind we had yet witnessed, though we had now been two years travelling in this country. The young men were chiefly sons of planters from the surrounding country, with some Southerners from the Virginia Springs, all brought up in the tainted atmosphere of slavery ; and the female visitors were mostly farmers' daughters, from the neighbourhood, who looked to this annual illumination of the Cave, as young country-girls in England do to the recurrence of an annual fair ; at many of which, it is to be feared, similiar scenes to those described, very frequently occur. Both cases prove, however, how dangerous it is to furnish occasions of meeting in large numbers, to the youths of both sexes, or the mere purpose of amusement, without any higher object, and without parental control, as they are almost always sure to be made occasions of great dissipation and folly, and sometimes leave painful consequences in their train.

C H A P. XVIII.

Journey to Waynesborough through the Rock-fish Gap—Thunder-storm—Mountain scenery—Blue Ridge—Splendid and extensive view from the summit—Descent of the Blue Ridge—Change of temperature—Increase of negroes—Plantations of tobacco—Mode of preparing the weed—Arrival at Charlottesville—Visit to Monticello—Tomb of Jefferson—Description of Jefferson's house at Monticello—Return to Charlottesville—Visit to the University—Conduct of American and English students—Parallel between Corn-laws and Slavery—Leave Charlottesville—Effects of the Slave system—Cotton factory—Jefferson's birth-place—James-Town-weed—Cotton, corn, and tobacco—Journey by railroad to Richmond.

WE left the hotel at Wyer's Cave at nine A.M., on the 16th of August, for Waynesborough, where we arrived at one o'clock : and dining there, we left it at three for Charlottesville, by the mail. Our road lay over a comparatively low portion of the Blue Ridge, in a part called the Rock-fish Gap, the elevation of which was not more than 300 feet above the level of the valley. We wound our way up this amidst a heavy storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, which, while it occasioned us some inconvenience from the imperfect protection which all American coaches afford against the elements, added something to the grandeur of the mountain-scenery. The storm abated, however, before we reached the highest part of the

Gap, and the atmosphere becoming clear, we had a splendid and extensive view from the summit ; the mountain-ridges of the west being visible in succession, to a distance of seventy or eighty miles, and the broad plains below us to the east, extending the horizon to an equal distance in that direction : the latter resembling the beautiful view from the summit of Catskill Mountain on the Hudson river, from the great abundance of cleared land intermingled with the forest patches of the surface. We lingered to enjoy this splendid view, as it was the last opportunity we should probably ever possess of dwelling with delight upon the mountain-landscapes of this noble State ; and when we turned the brow of the Blue Ridge, to wind down its eastern face, we took our last gaze with a feeling of admiration, mingled with regret.

The descent of this mountain-barrier brought us, by several smaller ridges, at length, to the lower plain ; and as the point of our passage through the Rock-fish Gap was not elevated more than 300 feet above the upper or western valley, while it was 1,200 feet, at least, above the lower or eastern plain, it followed that this first valley, west of the Blue Ridge, in which Waynesborough, Staunton, and Wyer's Cave are situated, is at least 1,000 feet above the level of the plain, and probably from 1,400 to 1,500 feet above the level of the sea. The difference of temperature was very perceptible to our feelings when we reached the plain, the air being not only warmer, but heavier, and more humid, so that we experienced a very disagreeable change by the transition. This Blue Ridge is the first great mountain-

barrier met with in coming up from the sea-coast on the east; and it is the geographical boundary between the two great divisions of the State into Eastern and Western Virginia. We found here, besides the marked change of temperature, two other corresponding changes;—one, the more frequent cultivation of the tobacco-plant; and the other, the greater abundance of negroes.

There was a marked difference also in the condition of the lands, and in the style and mode of husbandry; everything in this respect was greatly inferior here, to what we had witnessed in the midland region above. Slave-labour, and the cultivation of tobacco, have each had their share in producing this deterioration. This was observed by Mr. Jefferson more than fifty years ago; for in his Notes on Virginia, when speaking of the extensive production of tobacco, of which no less than 70,000 hogsheads were grown in this State in the year, 1758, he says—

“ But the western country on the Mississippi, and the midlands of Georgia, having a better sun, will be able to undersell these two States (Maryland and Virginia), and will oblige them to abandon the raising of tobacco altogether. And a happy obligation for them it will be. It is a culture productive of infinite wretchedness. Those employed in it are in a continued state of exertion beyond the powers of nature to support. Little food of any kind is raised by them, so that the men and animals on these farms are badly fed, and the earth is rapidly impoverished. The cultivation of wheat is the reverse in every circumstance. Besides clothing the earth with herbage, and preserving its fertility, it feeds the labourers plentifully, requires from them only a moderate toil, except in the season of harvest, raises great numbers of animals for food and service, and diffuses plenty and happiness among the whole. It is easier to make a hundred bushels of wheat than a thousand weight of tobacco, and they are worth more when made.”

These opinions of Mr. Jefferson were published in Virginia as long ago as 1786, and considering the high rank, great reputation, and unbounded popularity of their author, one might have hoped that they would have changed the current of public opinion on this subject, and led to the speedy abandonment of so pernicious a culture; but no such result has yet taken place, nor has the competition of the newer States yet effected the object of driving the production from Maryland and Virginia, as Mr. Jefferson anticipated. Like the madness of converting grain, which Nature has given for wholesome food, by the process of distillation, into poisonous spirits, which is practised to so great an extent in all the countries of Europe, this devotion of lands in America, so well adapted to yield sustenance for man, to the cultivation of the poisonous weed tobacco, is one of the strongest perversion of God's best gifts to the worst of purposes; and the process by which this is effected is as disgusting as the result is degrading and deplorable. The process is this: the leaves of the tobacco plant, which are large, green, and spongy, have only an acrid bitter taste while fresh; though even in that condition, no creature of the brute creation will touch it as food. It is prepared, however, for the use of man in the following manner, according to the account of a gentleman who chews the weed himself, and thus described to me the process. The leaves are first gathered, dried, and smoked, in appropriate sheds, the particular descriptions being carefully separated into classes. The finest kinds are then rolled up into balls, to undergo a slight fermentation, during which time the leaf is

sprinkled with stale urine and solution of ammonia. After this process the balls are hung up for some weeks in or near privies, that they may absorb the effluvia of human excrement, and when thought to be well saturated, they are taken down, and pressed into flat cakes, forming a black mass, so hard and compact as to be difficult to be cut with the knife. This is the most choice and most expensive kind of chewing-tobacco made; and it is common to see these little black cakes carried by gentlemen in the waistcoat pocket, from which they take it out from thence, without keeping it in a box or any other covering, cutting off a small piece to replenish their exhausted quid, and chewing it with the greatest apparent enjoyment, as though it were the most exquisite luxury that the earth could yield them. The middling and inferior kinds of tobacco do not undergo so tedious a process of preparation; this refinement being confined to the epicures of the weed.

If the processes by which cigars are rolled together by the filthy and perspiring hands of negroes, in Havannah, aided by occasional emissions of saliva to make the leaves adhere, were more generally known, it would tend to excite as much disgust against smoking, as against chewing; and both of these habits, as well as that of stuffing the nostrils with tobacco powder, as snuff, are so truly dirty, as well as injurious to the health of those who practise them, that they ought to be discountenanced in all educated and refined societies.

After a pleasant ride of five hours from Waynesborough, going a distance of twenty-six miles, we

reached Charlottesville at eight in the evening, and took up our quarters at the Eagle Hotel.

On the following day, August 17, we made a pleasant party with our Baltimore friends, to visit Monticello, the residence of the late Mr. Jefferson, and the site of his tomb, as well as to see the University of Virginia, of which he was the founder, both being within a short distance of Charlottesville.

Winding our way to the south-east from Charlottesville, we crossed a deep valley, and ascended a steep hill, about 500 feet in height, near the summit of which we first came to the tomb of Jefferson; the neglected and wretched condition of which ought to make every American, who values the Declaration of his country's Independence, blush with shame. If the illustrious ex-President had been the contriver of a treasonable plot for the subjugation or enslavement of his country, instead of one of its most distinguished patriots and deliverers, his sepulchre could not be more entirely abandoned. It was at his own desire that his interment should be simple, and his monument plain, and this was in perfect accordance with his republican principles and practice; but this is no excuse whatever for the shameful indifference or neglect of his survivors, in permitting it to be what it now is, a perfect wreck, though little more than ten years have elapsed since his death. As at present seen, the small enclosure, not more than from forty to fifty feet square, had its stone-wall half dilapidated, its wooden gate of entrance broken and unhung, its interior grown over with rank straggled weeds: the simple granite obelisk standing over Mr. Jefferson's remains, chipped at all the angles by

persons carrying off relics ; the marble slab that contained the inscription, directed by himself to be placed there, taken away, and the hollow space which contained it left void in the front of the obelisk ; the marble slab which covered the tomb of his wife close beside the obelisk broken in two, and large portions of one of the broken halves carried away ; in short, the whole place in a state of complete abandonment and disorder.

We ascended from hence, by a short road, to the summit of the hill, and came at length to the platform of lawn, in the centre of which is seated the house, which, for many years, was Mr. Jefferson's dwelling. A very graphic and faithful description of this is given in Wirt's Eulogy on Adams and Jefferson, a portion of which is worth transcribing.

“ The Mansion House at Monticello was built and furnished in the days of Mr. Jefferson's prosperity. In its dimensions, its architecture, its arrangements, and ornaments, it is such a one as became the character and fortune of the man. It stands upon an elliptic plain, formed by cutting down the apex of the mountain ; and to the west, stretching away to the north and the south, it commands a view of the Blue Ridge for 150 miles, and brings under the eye one of the boldest and most beautiful horizons in the world ; while on the east it presents an extent of prospect bounded only by the spherical form of the earth, in which Nature seems to sleep in eternal repose, as if to form one of her finest contrasts with the rude and rolling grandeur of the west. From this summit, the philosopher was wont to enjoy that spectacle, among the sublimest of Nature's operations, the looming of the distant mountains ; and to watch the motion of the planets, and the greater revolutions of the celestial sphere. From this summit, too, the patriot could look down with uninterrupted vision upon the wide expanse of the world around, for which he considered himself born : and upward to the open and vaulted

heaven, which he seemed to approach, as if to keep him continually in mind of his high responsibility. It is a scene fit to nourish those great and high-souled principles which formed the elements of his character, and was a most noble and appropriate post for such a sentinel over the rights and liberties of men.”’

To the truth and beauty of all this, as far as it regards the description of the scene, I yield my ready and hearty assent; but when I read a preceding portion of this eulogy, in which, when speaking of Mr. Jefferson’s attachment to Monticello as his home, the orator asks, “Can anything be indifferent to *us*, which was so dear to *him*?” I felt a very strong desire to have these words engraved on a marble tablet, and placed at the entrance to his neglected cemetery, or in the socket of the granite obelisk, from which the inscription dictated by Mr. Jefferson’s own hand has been so sacrilegiously torn. I fear, however, that it would be lost labour and time; for a people who can boast so much of their public men, when themselves and their country are to be indirectly flattered by their praise, and who do so little to honour their memories and their tombs, when their earthly labours are closed, could not be made sensible to shame by appeals to their justice or reason.

We had some difficulty in obtaining an entrance into the house, as it was in the occupation of a family very little disposed to encourage the visits of strangers. The present proprietor is a Captain Levy, of the United States Navy, now absent on duty in the West Indies. He is by birth and religion a Jew, was a common sailor before the mast in the merchant service, rose to be a mate, was admitted from the merchant service into the Navy, and is now a captain.

He is reputed to be very rich, but the present condition of Monticello would not lead the visitor to suppose that it was the property of a person either of taste or munificence. It appears that at the period of his buying it, the house and grounds had become as dilapidated as the tomb, and the roads broken up and destroyed, in which state indeed, they all still remain, for nothing has been done apparently to improve either ; but in this condition he purchased the house, the grounds, and 200 acres of farming land, for 2,500 dollars, or 500*l.* sterling,—a sum which any English person would think moderate for a single year's rental of the whole. He is aware, however, that this was a great bargain ; for he has since refused 12,000 dollars for the purchase, and fixes 20,000 dollars as its value.

Having obtained admission to the house, we found its interior in a better condition than we had expected. The plan is more showy than convenient, everything being sacrificed to the hall, the drawing-room, and the library ; the taste is rather French than English, Mr. Jefferson having resided for a long time in Paris, but it is decidedly good taste ; and we thought we had not seen any interior of an American residence in the South, better finished or in more harmonious proportions than this. Inlaid diagonal oak floors, lofty rooms, deep recesses, and appropriate fixtures and furniture, all harmonised well together, and left nothing incongruous among what belonged to the mansion in Mr. Jefferson's time. The present proprietor, however, had made some additions, which were not in the same good keeping. For instance, on first entering the hall, we saw on the right, affixed

to the wall like a picture, the identical marble tablet which was taken from Jefferson's tomb ; and which, here, in the hall of his abode while living, contained this inscription, " Here lies buried, Thomas Jefferson, Author of the Declaration of Independence, and of the Statute for Religious Freedom, and Founder of the University of Virginia." Not far from this was an oil painting, containing a full-length portrait of Captain Levy, in his naval uniform, on the quarter deck of his ship ; and in the same room a small lithograph of the same individual, as boatswain's-mate, with his boatswain's call in his hand, leaning on a quarter-deck gun, and with full trousers and flowing cravat, in true boatswain's mate's style. Not far from this was a lithograph portrait of the celebrated rich banker of Philadelphia, Stephen Girard ; and both these prints were without frame or glass and merely pinned up against the wall. Other incongruities of evidently recent introduction, were strewed around ; but among the relics of its better days, were some good paintings, as well as a full-length statue of Mr. Jefferson, and a good bust of Voltaire.

On retiring from the house, we sat for some time in the Doric portico, which is in excellent taste, and has the very useful additions of a compass inserted in the ceiling above, and a clock in the pediment in front, so that the bearing of every object in the horizon may be easily known. We enjoyed the view from hence greatly, and still more so the extensive and beautiful panorama which is seen from the lawn that surrounds the dwelling, and in which are several beautiful oaks and weeping willows, planted by Mr. Jefferson's own hands. To the south-east, the plain

is level, and boundless as the sea. To the northwest, the town of Charlottesville, and the University of Virginia at a little distance from it are each full in sight. At the foot of the hill, which is 500 feet elevated above the plain, flows the Ravenna river, leading on to its navigable point, called the Piræus, within about a mile of Charlottesville, and ultimately going into the James river, on which Richmond is seated. A noble barrier of mountains forms the back ground of the extensive plain, stretching out in this direction from north to west ; and the happy admixture of cultivated openings, with the woodlands intervening, make it as beautiful as it is grand.

We returned to Charlottesville by the same road ; and though much fatigued by the hills and the hot sun, we went after dinner to see the University, which lies at a short distance from the town. We had been told that it was half a mile only ; but our morning's experience had made us lose all confidence in the accuracy of Virginian measurements of distance ; we found, indeed, upon experiment, that it was at least a mile and half.

The University was not at present in session ; the vacation commencing on the 4th of July, and continuing to the end of August ; so that we saw only a few of the students, who remain here, owing to the great distance of their homes. The space occupied by the buildings is an oblong quadrangle, about 500 feet in length, and 150 in breadth. At the upper end of this open space is the principal edifice. This is a substantial structure of brick, circular in form, crowned with a flattened dome, which wants a terminating lantern, statue, or other elevation, to give it

the proper finish. It has a fine Corinthian portico of ten pillars, with a marble pavement, and chaste pediment; and from this portico the view of the side-ranges of buildings is very imposing. These ranges, occupying the opposite sides of the quadrangle, contain the residences of the professors, connected by pillared avenues, and smaller chambers for the students; and in the former of these there are several excellent specimens of architecture, of the Corinthian, Ionic, and Doric orders. The lower stories of the principal edifice are occupied by the lecture-room and museum of the University; and the whole of the upper story is devoted to the library, which contains upwards of 17,000 volumes. In front of the principal edifice is a fine lawn; continued all the way down to the end of the side-ranges; while the lower part of the quadrangle is left open, which affords an extensive prospect of the country, and adds to the beauty of the scene.

This University was founded by Mr. Jefferson in 1819, and was completed in 1825, in which year it contained 120 students, the number having since progressively increased to upwards of 200. The requisite age for admission is sixteen. On entering, the student undergoes an examination, is required to read the laws, and sign a written declaration that he will observe them; he is also obliged to deposit all funds in his possession into the keeping of the patron, and to declare that he will continue to do so as he receives others, so as to place them entirely under the patron's control.

The course of instruction embraces Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; with the literature as well as

languages of each. Among the modern tongues, French, Spanish, Italian, German, Danish, Swedish, Dutch, and Portuguese, are all taught. Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and *Materia Medica*, Anatomy and Surgery, Moral Philosophy, and Law, are all taught by separate professors, of which there are nine, besides tutors or assistants.

The University has the power to grant degrees of Master of Arts, and Doctor of Medicine. The entire expense of education, board, and subsistence, for the year of ten months, during which the University is in session, varies between 200 and 250 dollars, or from 40*l.* to 50*l.* sterling. Music, fencing, and dancing, are taught by separate masters, to those who desire it. A military corps has been formed of the students, and an officer appointed to instruct them in military exercises and tactics, to which one day in each week is devoted. But the same complaint is made here, that is made at almost all the public seminaries of education in America, of the disorderly conduct of the students, and the difficulty of keeping them under any rigid system of discipline. I had begun to think this a blot on the American character, which did not exist to the same extent in England, until I was corrected in my opinion by reading, in this very town of Charlottesville, from a batch of English newspapers which had been forwarded to me at the White Sulphur Springs, but which I had only been enabled to get through by degrees, the following paragraph from the *London Examiner*, of May 26, 1839—

“CAMBRIDGE ‘GENTLEMEN AND SCHOLARS.’—On Tuesday, Mr. Sidney Smith appeared at the theatre in Cambridge, in order

to give his second lecture on the impolicy and injustice of the corn laws. On the opening of the doors, the pit and part of the boxes were speedily occupied by mechanics and many respectable citizens. The upper boxes and gallery were soon also filled by the townspeople. About 150 of the gownsmen came in a body, and took possession of all the boxes on the lecturer's right hand, where they began to laugh and talk loud. A townsman remarked to Mr. Smith that he saw all the leading bullies of the University there, and that there would be a regular row. Mr. Smith, however, attempted to commence his lecture, when he was assailed with hootings by the gownsmen, some of whom were also provided with French horns. The tumult increased, the gownsmen giving three cheers for the corn-laws : while, to the cries of the people, 'Put them out,' &c. they answered 'Damn your eyes. Three cheers for Sir Robert Peel ; huzza ! huzza !' Here the gownsmen exhibited their bludgeons, and put themselves in attitude for a battle. The townsmen rose from the pit, climbed into the boxes amidst the most fearful blows, and a regular battle was the result. Hats, gowns, surtouts, and coats, flew in all directions. Chairs were torn to pieces, and all sorts of benches and planks were in requisition for weapons. The long passage of the boxes was the scene of fearful violence. Men were fainting ; others going out with dreadful gashes on their heads, and severe contusions on the arms and legs. The mayor appeared, and implored Mr. Smith to retire, telling him that still further reinforcements of gownsmen would be forthcoming ; but he insisted on maintaining his ground, and leaving the 'miscreants' to answer for the consequences of interrupting them in a free discussion. Meanwhile the click of a hundred sticks could be heard, as they mingled in the *melée*, and the shouts, yells, and cheers were quite stunning. The gownsmen were at last fairly kicked and beaten out of the house, when the townsmen resumed their seats amid tremendous cheers, displaying torn gowns, fragments of caps, and tails of coats, as trophies of their victory."

After this, I think, the young Southern students at Northern Universities who attack Abolition lecturers, as was recently done at Newhaven by the assault on

Mr. Gerritt Smith, may strengthen themselves by the example of the "higher classes," in the mother-country. The principle on which the conduct of both is founded is precisely the same, namely, opposition to all changes which they think will affect their pecuniary interests ; for the abolition of Slavery in America, like the abolition of the Corn-laws in England, however much it might benefit the many, for all time to come, would lessen the gains of a few for a short period ; and therefore the Southern planters of America will continue to hold fast their slaves so long as they can derive an income from their labour ; and the young expectant heirs of land-owners in England will continue to uphold the Corn-laws, so long as by that monopoly of the staff of life, their high rentals shall be maintained. The one robs the slave of his labour, without giving him his due reward ; the other takes from the artisan a portion of the full value of his toil, by compelling him to pay an unduly high price for his subsistence. The injustice is in each case equally great ; since in both, the burdens fall on the labourers, who produce the very wealth by which those who make the laws are maintained.*

* This passage was written in Charlottesville, in August, 1839, long before the agitation of the question of the Corn-laws in England. Subsequent events have only confirmed the accuracy of the view here taken ; and when the two great leaders of the ministerial and opposition party in the British House of Commons shall again quote my writings as an authority for their respective views, as was done by Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel, in the late debate on the Corn-laws, this passage may be recommended to the special attention of both, or to any other honourable member who may be disposed to quote it.

Charlottesville, as a town, has nothing of peculiar interest, beyond its beautiful situation, its fine landscape views, the vicinity of Monticello, and the University of Virginia. It has a population of 1,000 persons, of whom about 400 are slaves, and 100 free blacks. Among the public buildings, erected chiefly of brick, of the deepest red colour, are a Court House ; four Churches—Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Episcopalian ; a Female Academy ; and a preparatory school for boys destined for the University. The inhabitants are chiefly engaged in agricultural pursuits ; and an Agricultural Society, well supported by the surrounding country, holds its periodical meetings in the town. It has also an annual exhibition of live-stock and domestic manufactures, at which premiums are awarded for the best productions in each. The elevation of the town is ascertained to be 700 feet above the level of the sea.

We had to be roused at the early hour of three o'clock in the morning, for the stage, which did not leave Charlottesville, however, until four ; and it was seven o'clock before we had performed a distance of eight miles to the first station, where we breakfasted. About five miles beyond this we passed the house and farm of Mr. W. C. Rives, the Virginia senator. Nothing could be more slovenly than the state of the husbandry all along this road, and the neglected state of the farms gave evidence of great inferiority in their mode of management. We had with us in the coach, a senator from Pennsylvania, who expatiated on the contrast presented by the appearance of the farms in his State ; and I ventured to ask him what he considered to be the cause of so

remarkable a difference in two districts or countries so nearly adjoining, with so great an equality of advantages in soil and climate. He replied, "There is no other intelligible cause for this difference, than that Pennsylvania is cultivated by freemen, and Virginia by slaves: the freemen have every motive to labour, because they enrich themselves by their toil, and enjoy what they produce; the slaves have every motive to be idle, because no toil enriches them, and nothing beyond bare subsistence ever rewards their exertions; therefore, the freemen do as much as possible, and the slaves do as little." He further expressed his belief, that there was many a farmer owning 500 acres in Pennsylvania, without a single slave, who was rich; while there were many planters in Virginia who were poor with 5,000 acres, and as many slaves as were requisite to cultivate the whole; because the farmer of Pennsylvania, with such an estate, would lay by money every year, while the planter of Virginia, with so much ampler means, would get every year deeper and deeper into debt! Such is the difference in the results of freedom and slavery, according to the sober judgment of a native of the country. When I asked him, whether the Virginia planters were themselves aware of this difference, he replied. "The greater number of them undoubtedly are; but a spirit of false pride prevents them from acting on it." Many years ago, the Legislature of Virginia entertained the proposition of emancipating the slaves; and the public opinion of the majority of the State was in favour of such a step. Every one here, indeed, believes that

if nothing had occurred to interrupt the progress of this sentiment, the abolition of slavery, in this, and the adjoining State of Maryland, would have happened long ago. But they allege, that because the Abolitionists of the North wished to force them on faster than they chose to go, they would not move at all; and since these Abolitionists have increased their pressure, the slave holders have actually receded backward, out of a sheer spirit of opposition, because they would not be driven even into the adoption of a measure which they approved. They seem, therefore, to be now in the position of a froward child, who takes delight in doing just the contrary of what he is desired to do—show his independence; for the planters of these two States say, in effect, by their conduct, “We believe slavery to be an evil to ourselves and to our slaves, and that under a system of free-labour we should both be much better off. In this conviction, we were beginning to prepare measures to effect the change from the one to the other; and should have done so by this time, if no one had attempted to hurry us. But, though the abolition of slavery would be an acknowledged and undoubted good to ourselves, we will not adopt it, merely because other persons tell us we ought to do so; and therefore we will not only defer the matter altogether, but we will wholly forego the benefit we were about to confer upon ourselves, rather than permit even the appearance of our being dictated to by others!” This is not an unusual course for a froward and spoiled child, or for a wayward and capricious tyrant; but whether it is a course becom-

ing a grave and free community, pretending to be among the most enlightened people of the world, let the reader judge.

Beyond Mr. Rives's house we passed a large brick cotton factory, like some of the best of those in Lancashire or Yorkshire, but brighter and cleaner, being worked by water-power instead of steam. In this, both spinning and weaving are carried on; and whites and blacks work indiscriminately together. Near this spot Mr. Jefferson was born; and close by it, the remains of his father and mother are buried. It is remarkable enough, that this large factory should occupy the birth-place of the man, one of whose strongest recommendations to his countrymen was, not to make their country a manufacturing, but to keep it always as an agricultural nation, for which Nature seems to have best fitted it, and by which he thought its happiness and independence would be best preserved.

Along our road we saw some beautiful trees of the white sumach, and many of the persimon. In the fields there were water-melons in great abundance, and peaches loaded the trees overhanging the way-side. On the skirts of the road we saw great quantities of the plant called the James-Town weed, now in flower. It was first noticed at the old English settlement of James Town, on the James river; and was regarded as a great medicinal plant, by the aboriginal Indians. One of our fellow-passengers related to us many extraordinary cures which had been performed by its use, in application to external wounds, and by decoctions of its leaves for internal use. Mr. Jefferson states, that the late Dr. Bond had assured him of this remarkable effect produced by it. A young

girl put some of the seeds of this plant into her eye, when it dilated the pupil to such a degree, that she could see in the dark, but in the light she was almost blind. He further added, that a ship's crew arriving at James Town, having eaten of the leaves of this plant, they were all affected with a temporary imbecility, from which they slowly recovered.

As we proceeded on our way, we came to lower and lower levels, and more and more inferior lands; though, in one of the fields that we passed, we saw cotton, corn, and tobacco, in small patches of each, all growing within the limits of a few acres. After a journey of twenty-six miles by the mail-stage, which we did not accomplish till twelve o'clock, having been, therefore, eight hours performing this distance, we reached the first railroad on which we had travelled for some time. The change to this mode of conveyance was very agreeable, though its rate of speed did not exceed fifteen miles an hour when in motion, and was reduced to twelve by the frequent stoppages for fire-wood, water, and passengers; besides being rendered disagreeable by the frequent entry into the car of the flying sparks of wood, burning the faces of some, entering the eyes of others, and making small holes in the garments of all. We were glad, therefore, when we reached Richmond, and halted for the night.

CHAP. XIX.

Stay at Richmond—Description of the City—Revenue—Taxation—Public Buildings—Library of the Capitol—City Hall—Armory—Penitentiary—Orphan Asylum—Academy—Periodicals—Churches—Government—Canal—Mines—Manufactures—Shipping—Commerce—Population—Slaves on Sundays—Anecdote of a Negro who desired Education—Conduct of Abolitionists—Abolitionists—Benefits of agitation.

RICHMOND, though not one of the oldest towns in Virginia, is of British or Colonial origin, having been first established by an act of the Colonial Assembly in 1742; so that it is now nearly a century old. It did not become the seat of government, however, till after the Declaration of American Independence, when the system of fixing on some central point in the State for the place of legislation, was first acted on. It was then, in 1779, that Richmond was appointed to be the site of the Capitol.

The situation of the town is peculiarly striking and beautiful; and from almost every point of view it forms a magnificent picture. The three finest views, perhaps, are from the river's bank above the Falls; from the library windows in the upper story of the State House, or Capitol; and from Gamble's Hall, where the panorama is most extensive. The town stands on the north bank of James river, at a

and these are called by the letters, of the alphabet, from A to Z in succession, though some of them have distinctive names in addition ;—such as Main-street, the great public place of business, like the Broadway of New York ; Carey-street, the chief mart of the tobacco merchants ; and Broad-street, which has the entry of the railroad from the north. The lateral streets, running up from the river to the top of the hill, cross these longitudinal streets at right angles, dividing the whole area into a certain number of squares. The lateral streets are named numerically, as, First-street, Second-street, and so on. If a street is called by the name of a letter in the alphabet, then it is certain that it runs parallel to the river, and by the letter of its name you can guess pretty accurately how near to or how remote from the stream it is ; and so of the numerical streets, which, to a stranger, is a great assistance. They are nearly all broad and airy ; but they are wretchedly paved, imperfectly drained, and never lighted, as I believe there is not a single street-lamp in the city. They are therefore the most dirty, rough, and disagreeable streets to walk in, that are to be found, perhaps, in the Union ; presenting a continual obstacle to walking or visiting, as they are filled with dirt and dust all through the dry weather, and dirt and mud all the wet. Of all the reforms needed for Richmond, I should say that “Street Reform” was the most urgent and pressing.

I understood that the chief difficulty in remedying this evil, was the already heavy debt of the city, which amounted to more than 700,000 dollars. This alone requires a city revenue of 40,000 dollars

annually, to pay the interest. Besides this, there are the following items of expenditure to be defrayed by the city—

For the support of the Poor - - - -	5,000	dollars
For the Free School and Orphan Asylum	2,000	„
For the support of a Night-Watch - -	9,000	„
For repairing the Streets - - - -	4,000	„
Markets, Fire Companies, & Contingencies	5,000	„
Salaries of Public Officers - - - -	20,000	„
	<hr/>	
	45,000	„
	<hr/>	

So that the whole expenditure is little short of 100,000 dollars a year. This is raised by a tax assessed on the real property of persons living within the city, which, in 1833, was valued at nearly 7,000,000 dollars, and is now thought to be worth 10,000,000 dollars. Besides this most legitimate of all sources of taxation, there is one which falls much more unequally ; namely, a license tax, all trades and professions here being required to take out a license, for which they have to pay a certain sum to the city funds. By the returns of the State Commissioner for 1833, it appears there were 20 wholesale merchants in Richmond paying for licenses, 326 retail traders, 7 lottery-ticket sellers, 43 hotel-keepers, and 9 boarding-house keepers, 157 coaches, 54 gigs, and 739 horses and mules, all contributing to the city revenue.

One large item of the city debt was for the construction of the Water-works, commenced in 1830, under the direction of Mr. Albert Steen, a celebrated Dutch engineer, the cost of which has been 100,000 dollars and more. There are several reservoirs, each

capable of containing 1,000,000 of gallons ; and into these, the pumps force from the river, to a distance of 800 yards, and at a considerable elevation, 400,000 gallons of water in 24 hours. Fire-plugs are placed in the principal streets, fed by pipes leading from these reservoirs, and these have force enough to send the water, by a hose, to the tops of the buildings, without the use of engines, so that it is an invaluable aid in case of fire. Houses are also supplied with water for domestic purposes from the same source, at a very moderate expense.

Of the public buildings, the most imposing, and in every respect the most beautiful, is the State House, or Capitol. Nothing can be more advantageous than its position, in the middle of a fine lawn, on the brow of the hill that overtops the town. Its foundation is much higher than the tops of the houses in the streets below, thus commanding a fine elevation, and ample surrounding space, to show its form and proportions to the best advantage. It is said to be formed after the celebrated *Maison Carré*, at Nismes, a plan and model of which was brought from France by Mr. Jefferson ; but there are quite as many points of difference as of resemblance between them. It is an oblong building, of about 150 feet by 70, judging by the eye, and from 70 to 80 feet in height. Its principal front is towards the river, from which it is distant a third of a mile, overlooking the town. This front has a fine Ionic portico, rising from a platform on a level with the second story, but without an ascending flight of steps, these being supplied by heavy masses of stairs on each side, to the great injury of the edifice, the

chasteness and simplicity of which, when you are near to the building, they quite destroy. They might have been placed at either end, where they would have given beauty and dignity to the structure ; but standing where they are, they seem to be an excrescence, as if the architect had forgotten to provide for an entrance into his building at the proper place, and threw up these cumbrous additions, to supply the omission afterwards. The sides have Ionic pilasters to correspond with the portico, and the general effect of the whole is chaste and noble, whenever you are at a sufficient distance to lose sight of the deformity of the side steps, which ought to be removed.

The interior of the Capitol is not arranged to the best advantage, either for convenience or beauty. The ground-floor is occupied by various offices. On the first story above this, is a central hall or lobby, in the middle of which is a full-length statue of General Washington, executed in marble, by a French artist, named Houdon, taken while the General was alive, and said to be the most striking resemblance ever made of the great original. As this was his native State, it is improbable that this reputation for strict resemblance should be enjoyed by this statue, unless it were true, as there are still so many Virginians living to whom Washington was familiarly known. But it is certainly not like the other representations of Washington in countenance, and differs much from the celebrated picture of Mr. Stuart, which has formed the model for many thousand copies in every size, and of every price, from the excellence of the original as a picture. On this floor is the House of Delegates, as the representa-

tives are here called, and a room occupied by the judges of the Supreme Court. The Senate Chamber is on the floor above, and the Library occupies the upper story. In all these rooms there is nothing remarkable, but each is well adapted to its purpose ; and the Library, which is well arranged, and has a good collection of 10,000 volumes, is a very agreeable apartment, from its light, air, and fine prospects. In the Hall below is a bust of General Lafayette, when a young man, on his first campaign with Washington. The leading traits of his features were then the same as they appeared in his old age ; and any one to whom his countenance was familiar at sixty-five, might know him by his bust at twenty-five. Lafayette is everywhere associated with Washington in America ; and two purer or better men were, perhaps, never united in fame than these. If the examples of their lives, public and private, could but be made to have an influence on the conduct of the American people, in proportion to the degree of estimation in which they profess to hold their names, it would be well for this country and for mankind ; but that, I fear, is too much to hope for.

Near the Capitol, is the official residence of the Governor, during the session of the Legislature ; it is a substantial brick mansion. Behind it is the City Hall, used for the sittings of the Law Courts, as well as for municipal purposes, with a chaste Doric portico, and circular flattened dome. A large Armory belonging to the State was built on the lower part of the town, and the edifice still exists ; but it was found that the manufactory of arms here was more expensive than the purchase of them else-

where ; and it has, accordingly, been abandoned, and converted into a barrack ; being now occupied by a small number of troops.

The State Penitentiary occupies a rising ground on the west of the city, and is built and conducted on the Auburn plan, under what is called the Silent System, in contradistinction to the Philadelphia plan, which is called the Solitary System. Here the convicts all work in company, but are forbidden to speak or communicate with each other, even by signs ; a prohibition, however, which they constantly evade ; and the effect of their association is, in the opinion of most persons here, to make them worse. The system, however, is still continued, chiefly because the workmen, by their labours, pay the cost of their own subsistence, and leave a profit for the State, and this is more thought of than their reformation. There are about 200 convicts in it, one half being free blacks, and a large portion of the other half, foreigners : there are rarely or ever any white females in this prison, though they are frequently found in those of the North.

Of charitable institutions there is a Poor-house, and a Female Orphan Asylum, partly supported by private liberality, partly by municipal taxes, and partly by the funds of the State ; and there is a small Lancasterian School, for the education of children of both sexes. One good academy now exists in Richmond, and a few small private schools. But in this respect it is singularly deficient ; and though the population is estimated at 30,000, there is no literary or scientific association, such as is to be found in nearly all the smaller towns of the Northern States.

Of literary and political publications, there are two daily papers, the *Whig*, and the *Compiler*; one tri-weekly, the *Enquirer*, published and edited by Mr. Ritchie, the oldest editor of any paper in the Union, having conducted the same journal on democratic principles for the long period of forty years! and being yet full of vigour and energy, and looked up to as a veteran of the greatest influence and authority, by the whole of the Democratic party throughout the country. There are also three religious weekly papers, *Episcopalian*, *Baptist*, and *Presbyterian*, published in Richmond. Its monthly periodical, *The Southern Literary Messenger*, contains as many well-written articles as any similar publication in England; and in my judgment, after a regular perusal of it for two years—as I subscribed to all the leading reviews and magazines during my stay in the country, or procured them, as published, through the booksellers—it is at least equal to any periodical, Northern or Southern, published in the United States.

There are sixteen churches in Richmond, of which the *Episcopalians* have three, the *Methodists* three, the *Baptists* three, the *Presbyterians* two, the *Roman Catholics*, the *Unitarians*, the *Quakers*, the *Campbellites*, and the *Jews*, one each. One of the *Episcopalian* places of worship is called *The Monumental Church*, from this circumstance:—On the spot which it now occupies, formerly stood the theatre of Richmond, at which, on the benefit of some favourite actor, the house was crowded with all the first families of the city, the Governor of the State being among the number. In the course of the perform-

ances, some of the scenery took fire, and the flames spread with great rapidity. The alarm was soon changed to terror, and, unfortunately, there was but one avenue of egress—a fault which almost all large public places of resort and entertainment still retain—and from the rush to it from all parts of the house, this broke down, so that the passage became choked up by the dead and the dying, and for those who remained behind there was no possibility of escape. Accordingly, from seventy to eighty of the most respectable inhabitants of the city, of both sexes, perished in the flames ! One can easily conceive the horror which this catastrophe must have created, and the gloom which for years it continued to cast over the whole community, from whence some of the most excellent and most lovely had been swept away by the fiery element, in the midst of their pleasures. It was at length determined to build a church upon the spot, which has been accomplished ; and in it I attended worship, and heard a very impressive sermon from the young Episcopalian clergyman who officiated—the venerable Bishop Moore, now in his 80th year, who usually preaches here, being now absent on a visit to the churches in New York.

The church is octagonal in form ; and under a dark and heavy portico, or rather arcade, in front, is a square monument, surmounted by a funeral urn, on the four sides of which are inscribed the names of the principal persons who perished in the conflagration of the theatre ; the names of the males on two of its sides, and that of the females on the others ; but with no narrative or record of the occasion of their death, or the time and manner of its occurrence ;

so that a stranger, examining it without a friend or guide, would be wholly at a loss to know why so many names were there. This is an omission which ought surely to be remedied, and every year that passes by will render it more and more necessary. I was struck with observing some few names inscribed outside the general record, lower down, and near the very foot of the monument, which I took at first for the names of the sculptor, designer, and architect. But on examining them, I found they were female names; I asked why they were thus excluded from association with the rest, and the answer given me was—"Oh! they were coloured people," and this was deemed sufficient. I learnt afterwards that they were all favourite and faithful slaves, who had attended their mistresses to the theatre, and that, therefore, their names were inscribed, but in this lower compartment, away from all connection with those above. I could not help asking those who told me this, whether, if they entered the same heaven, the distinctions would still be preserved hereafter; but the parties were silent, and made no reply.

In the general aspect of Richmond, as you walk through its streets, there is nothing very striking. The private dwellings of the more opulent are chiefly on the hill, where the air is cooler and fresher, and the tranquillity greater, than below. The houses are chiefly of brick, well built, handsomely furnished, and many of them with good gardens. In one of these, belonging to the chief proprietor of the White Sulphur Faquier Springs, the garden was well laid out in the Italian style, with several fine statues of the Seasons, and one of Venus rising from the

Sea, with fountains, dolphins, &c., executed in Florence, and brought out here for this express purpose. The house, with its noble portico, spacious veranda, elegant furniture, and beautiful pictures, marked a union of good taste with opulence, not very usual, except in the establishments of those who have travelled in Europe, and there acquired a good taste, by an examination of the finest models. The shops have none of the show and beauty of those in the Broadway of Boston, or Chesnut-street in Philadelphia, though the stores are substantial, and appeared to be all well supplied.

The government of the city is formed of a council of twenty-seven, who are elected annually by the inhabitants, nine from each of the three wards into which the city is divided. These again elect out of their own body, a recorder, and eleven aldermen, who form the judiciary of the city. The council also elect from the citizens at large, a mayor, who is both a judicial and an executive officer; and the remaining fifteen of the twenty-seven constitute the legislative council, by whom all acts for the city government are made.

Richmond is already, to some extent, a manufacturing city; but seems destined to become much more so, from her possession of all the necessary elements. The water-power of her Falls is almost inexhaustible, and lies along a great extent of both banks of the stream just above the city. Within a few miles of this are immense beds of coal, on which several mines are actively at work. Already there are many large flour-mills, which collectively

grind about 1,000,000 of bushels of wheat annually ; and the brand of the Gallego Mills, on the barrels of flour exported from hence, is esteemed above every other in the South American markets. A Richmond Cotton Manufacturing Company has been established and incorporated by the legislature, which consumes 2,000 lbs. of raw cotton per day, and employs 100 whites and 150 blacks as spinners and weavers. A second, or rival body, called The Gallego Manufacturing Company, has recently started ; and private factories are springing up all around ; machinery and workmen being procured from England.

The James River Canal, which runs along beside the natural stream from above the Falls, and terminates in a spacious basin in the town, preserves an uninterrupted navigation with the interior. The tolls on this amount to about 70,000 dollars annually, and are yearly increasing.

The shipping actually belonging to Richmond is not of great amount, but the number clearing out from the port on foreign voyages is 5,000 tons. The commerce consists chiefly in the exportation of tobacco and flour, both to foreign ports and coastwise ; and the aggregate of these is said to amount to nearly 8,000,000 dollars annually.

The population, in 1830, the last census taken, was 16,060 ; of whom the whites were 7,755, the slaves 6,349, and the free-coloured persons 1,965 ; making the united black population rather more than the white. The increase since that period, is thought by some to have made the whole population 20,000 ; and including the opposite town of Man-

chester, 30,000 at least. In walking the streets, however, you appear to see and meet ten times as many blacks as whites.

On Sundays, when the slaves and servants are all at liberty after dinner, they move about in every public thoroughfare, and are generally more gaily dressed than the whites. The females wear white muslin and light silk gowns, with caps, bonnets, ribbons, and feathers; some carry reticules on the arm, and many are seen with parasols, while nearly all of them carry a white pocket-handkerchief before them in the most fashionable style. The young men, among the slaves, wear white trousers, black stocks, broad-brimmed hats, and carry walking-sticks; and from the bowing, curtesying, and greetings, in the highway, one might almost imagine one's self to be at Hayti, and think that the coloured people had got possession of the town, and held sway, while the whites were living among them by sufferance. This is only the Sunday-aspect, however, but to me it was a very agreeable sight while it lasted; the negroes, of both sexes, seemed so happy in the enjoyment of their holiday and finery, that I wished from my heart I could secure them two Sundays a week instead of one, or, still better, have them thus happy all the week through. On working days, however, the case is altered, for then they return back to their labour and dirty clothes again; though it must be confessed, that in no part of the country, in the towns, do the slaves appear to be overworked, or to do, indeed, so much as a white labourer would be expected, and indeed made to do, in the same situation of life. The truth is, that while they are naturally indolent

under their bondage—for who would work hard when another is to reap the reward?—their masters or owners are indolent too; and it takes so much time and trouble for a white man to be constantly overlooking and tasking a negro, to keep him to his work, that he soon gives it up. The slaves in towns, therefore, and especially domestic servants, do just as little as they like, and their masters and mistresses will not take the trouble to make them do more; so that they live an easier life than many an English mechanic, farm-labourer, or servant, as far as actual labour is concerned. In the plantations under overseers, where a stricter discipline can be kept up, it is no doubt different; but in general, you see no stripes inflicted, or blows struck, or even harsh language used to the slaves in towns, by any one; nor does their own sense of their condition seem to be generally one of pain, or a strong desire to change it, though occasionally they run away, and perhaps would do so oftener were it not for the great risk of detection, and certainty of having punishment afterwards. Still, I believe, the only chance of their general improvement is to be found in their freedom. With that, they *may* ameliorate their condition, improve their minds, and become a more intellectual and moral race; without that, as a first step, it seems to me impossible.

I had forgotten to mention an anecdote on this subject, which occurred at Monticello, but which, like a hundred other things that I see and hear, was not recorded at the time, because no degree of labour would be sufficient to preserve, in writing, the half of what passes around one every day, though it would

be useful if it could be noted down for future reference, if not for publication ; but I will mention it now. We had reached the summit of the hill at Monticello on foot, when a family coming after us from Charlottesville, arrived in a carriage. One of our party, when the persons in the carriage had got out, addressed the driver, a negro slave, and said, "Pompey, what is the name of that hill there away in the distance ?" The man replied, "I don't know, Sir." The gentleman rejoined, "But you ought to know ; you who are a driver, and bring parties up here. Why don't you learn the names of all the places, so as to be able to tell them to your company ?" "I should be very glad," replied the negro, "if I could learn 'em ; but master knows it's more than I *dare* do, to learn anything, 'cause it's 'gainst the law." The gentleman was silent ; for he had the sense to see to what this would lead, if followed up. I continued the conversation, however, by asking the negro, who was what is called here "a right smart fellow," and spoke as good English as any driver in London, having been born in Charlottesville, and always lived with a white master, whether he really had any desire to learn to read and write ; and whether it was true that he was deterred from doing so because the law prohibited it ? He said there was nothing he desired more ; that he would give half his earnings, if he could, to accomplish this object. He was hired out by his master as a driver, and had to carry home to him a good portion of his earnings, and live upon the rest ; but he declared he would give a part of that rest, to learn to read and write, if he could ; for though some masters allowed

their slaves sometimes to do this, it was not publicly permitted, and *his* master was not willing, because it was against the law.

There is great fear, it would seem, among the whites, that if the negroes were educated, they would turn their knowledge to good account, in corresponding, organizing plans of rebellion, forging passports for each other, and so on. Their owners have no objection to their becoming religious, as they think that safe; but they are afraid of their becoming intelligent! This fact alone is a volume against slavery, and must seal its condemnation as an unjust thing, in the mind of every man who regards the negro as a portion of the human race.

Notwithstanding this, it cannot be denied, that everywhere in the South there are abundant evidences of a retrograde movement in the state of public opinion, as to the desirableness and practicability of emancipation. Whenever the subject is talked of, the conversation is almost always sure to wind up with the assertion, that, but for the Abolitionists of the North, something would, by this time, have been accomplished; but that, by reason of their intemperate zeal, the accomplishment of negro freedom has been thrown back for an indefinite period. The people of the South use this as the strongest ground of their objection to abolition movements; though the true reason of their hostility, no doubt, is, an unwillingness to part with what is to them productive property, and to some, indeed, their whole fortune, especially in Virginia, where the slaves being more numerous than they can find occupation for on their own plantations, they train them as artificers of

various kinds, and hire them out to others for wages, a small portion of which subsists the slave, and the rest is gain to his master or mistress ; for widows and maiden-ladies owning slaves, let them out in this way for gain. The rising progeny of these slaves are regarded as so much stock, to be fed, raised, and prepared for a market, to which they are all sent in due time, so that the surplus number is a constant source of addition to the regular gains from their labour. Still the very persons who do this, and live wholly by the income so obtained, profess to be very desirous of seeing something done, towards a safe plan of gradual emancipation, and say that, but for the hasty and intemperate zeal of the Abolitionists, this would have been done long ago.

In these sentiments they are continually fortified by the testimonies of eminent men in the North ; and when any of these, either in speeches or letters, give utterance to such testimony, it is, of course, eagerly caught up, and recited in every paper of the South, as strengthening the cause of the Slaveholder by weakening that of the Abolitionist.

Some might imagine that additional cruelties were practised on the negroes in consequence of the efforts of the Abolitionists, or that increase of suffering, and loss of life were produced by it. So far, however, is this from being true, that there never was a period in the history of America, when the negroes were treated with so much of kindness and consideration as at present. Floggings, which were once to frequent, are now certainly very rare ; and neither subordinate punishments, harsh language, or heavy labour, are inflicted on the slaves to half the extent

that they were before the Abolition movements began. This change, I believe to have been brought about by the influence of public opinion. It is now necessary that the slaveholders of the South should be able to repel the charges of cruel treatment, by more kindness than ever to their slaves; to lessen the inducements to absconding, by making their labour lighter; and to prevent the disgust and indignation of Northern visitors, by being more liberal in their supplies of food and clothing, and less frequent in the use of the whip. All this is the result of the Abolition agitation; and though it may perhaps have suspended or retained all legislative measures for the emancipation of the slaves for some years, it has made it more certain that this emancipation *will* be effected, and that the progress towards it will be smoothened, if not hastened, by the gradually milder treatment of the negroes, so as to make them better able to bear the transition, and prevent the intoxication of a more violent oscillation from one extreme to another.

I feel persuaded, that the awakening the public mind to the danger that awaits the much longer continuance of slavery, is the only method of averting the catastrophe, in which, without some steps taken to avoid it, the question would make an issue for itself, by a general and successful insurrection. It is known, that the slaves increase at the rate of nearly 80,000 in each year; and that with all the pains taken to prevent their being instructed, they are nevertheless becoming more and more informed, by constant residence with the whites, and by what they hear and see around them. The example of

Hayti, with a free government of blacks, is before them ;—the emancipation of all slaves in Mexico, is known to them ;—the example of England in the West India Islands, is fresh and recent ;—and the exertions making for their abolition in their own Northern States, are, of course, familiar to them all. It is impossible but that all this must every year increase the general *desire* to be free ; and equally increase their physical and mental power, by augmented numbers, and improved information, to make themselves so. Should it ever come to that, the struggle would be dreadful, for it would be one of life or death to both parties ; and neither would be willing to lay down their arms, till the other were exterminated. To avert this calamity, to which things are naturally tending every year, the humane, the patriotic, and the pious, ought to redouble their energies in favour of speedy emancipation, and the cause of “peace on earth and good will towards men,” will be ultimately promoted by their success.

CHAP. XX.

Journey to Petersburg—Origin of the name—Public buildings—Manufactures—Commerce—Servants' livery—Variable weather—Journey—Voyage down the James river—Old English mansion Williamsburgh—College of William and Mary—Raleigh's Tavern—Ruins of James Town—The first English settlement—Storm on the river—Rivalry between different States—Daniel Webster—Henry Clay—Queen of the West—Tarring and feathering—Persecution of the Mormons—Lynching in a Court-house—Arrears and fees of Court—Aristocratical distinctions—Arrival at Norfolk.

HAVING a great desire to revisit Norfolk—the only part of the United States that I had ever visited before my present tour, and this so long as thirty years ago—I availed myself of the present opportunity, though the weather was oppressively hot for such an excursion, the thermometer being from 90° to 98° daily. We accordingly left Richmond on the 26th of August, for Petersburg, by the railroad, which carried us the twenty-two miles of distance over a level and uninteresting country in an hour and a half; and here we remained for a few days, previous to our embarking on the James river for Norfolk.

I had supposed, from the name of this place, that it was of comparatively recent origin, at least, posterior to the revolution, as I could hardly think that a town of British origin would have been called after the name of one of the European capitals,

and particularly that of Russia. I learnt, however, from one of the oldest residents, that it was even older than Richmond; but its original name was Petersburg, from the circumstance of the first man setting himself down here to settle, and keeping a house of entertainment, being called Peters, a very frequent origin for the names of towns in America. When it rose to be a tolerably large place, subsequent to the revolution, its name was changed to Petersburg, from its being thought more important than its old appellation.

It is seated on the southern bank of the river Appotomax, which is navigable for small vessels from hence to the James-river, close by City Point, where large vessels come up from the sea to load their cargoes. As at Richmond, there are certain rapids or falls above the town on the Appotomax, the waters of which are used for manufacturing-power. A canal runs along, side by side with the river, so as to connect the navigation above and below the Falls. The town was originally built of wood; but in 1815 a great fire burnt nearly the whole of it down. Since then, the buildings have been constructed of brick, but, though sufficiently substantial, there is a heaviness and gloom about them, very different from the lightness and brightness which characterize American cities in general. The town is regular in its plan, and has several public buildings in it, including a City Hall, a Masonic Hall, and a Female Orphan Asylum, seven Churches, belonging to Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians; and the Anderson Seminary, established as a Lancasterian School, by a legacy from a Mr. David Anderson.

It has but one newspaper, published three times a week, the Petersburg Intelligencer, of Whig politics, though the population is about 10,000 ; a smaller proportion of newspaper force, if I may use such a term, than towns of such an extent usually exhibit.

Manufactures and commerce are here the chief pursuits, and each is said to be augmenting every year. There are eight tobacco factories, seven flour-mills, two mills for expressing oil from the cotton-seed, two potteries for earthenware, and one cast-iron and brass foundry in the town. The cotton factories are, however, more important still, and are every year increasing. There are two Manufacturing Companies, the Petersburg and the Merchants'. One of these produces yarn, and the other weaves cotton-cloth to a considerable extent ; both employing about 500 operatives, a large portion of whom are women and young girls. The exports from hence embrace about 50,000 bales of cotton, this being the northern limit of the cotton-growing region, 5,000 hogs-heads of tobacco, and 100,000 bushels of wheat in each year.

Petersburgh, like Richmond, has its streets in a wretched condition, from want of cleansing and repair, and there are no lamps of any kind, gas or oil, used in them ; so that the going out at night is inconvenient, and even dangerous, to a stranger unacquainted with the localities, unless the moon should be up to light him on his way. As a contrast to this state of neglect and disorder in the streets, and total absence of the ordinary convenience of lamps for lighting them, we remarked that this was the only place in America, in which we had seen any

thing like livery among the servants. It is true that this was of a humble kind, but it was remarkable from its singularity. The coloured servants of the Bollingbrook Hotel, at which we stopped, wore a uniform light dress, white, with green binding, and a small green military cloth cap, with two smart tassels, hanging over the right ear, which gave the wearers a very neat and disciplined appearance.

At the same place we experienced the greatest contrast in the weather that we had ever yet known since our landing in the United States, the thermometer on the 27th August being at 98° in the shade at noon, with a close and sultry air, and dead calm; but in the evening of the same day, a most violent thunder-storm, with incessant lightning and torrents of rain brought the thermometer down to 60° , and on the following day it was as low as 52° , with a north-east wind, a dull leaden cloudy sky; and to the feelings, the contrast was as great as that of passing, in the course of a single day, from the middle of July to the middle of December.

On the morning of August 29, we left Petersburg for Norfolk, going by the railroad to the banks of the James-river, instead of by the stream of the Appotomax, as the latter, in its winding and circuitous course, makes the distance three times as great as by the former. We left the town about nine o'clock, at which time it was cloudy and cold; but before we reached the end of the railroad, a distance of only twelve miles, which was performed in about three-quarters of an hour, a north-east gale had gathered up, with heavy rain; so that our embarkation in the steam-boat Thomas Jefferson, which

touched here to receive us, on her way down from Richmond, was most uncomfortable. We found her, however, a large and commodious vessel, and there were some agreeable companions and old acquaintances on board as fellow-passengers, whom we were glad to meet.

Our voyage down the James-river, notwithstanding the unfavourable weather, was on the whole agreeable. The river itself is a noble stream, being nearly a mile broad where we embarked, about sixty miles below Richmond, and gradually expanding its width to two, three, four, and even five miles broad, as you approach its mouth, where it empties itself into the Chesapeake, or "Mother of Waters," for such is said to be the signification of this Indian name. Its banks have not the romantic beauties of cliff and mountain, such as line the shores of the Hudson; nor has it the length of the giant Mississippi; but it is much broader than either, and has a succession of fertile fields and luxuriant level landscapes on each side, equal to the finest parts of the Delaware or the Potomac, and greatly superior to the Savannah, the Chatahoochee, and the Alabama rivers, all of which have greater length, but are much inferior to the James-river in breadth and in beauty.

A little way down, on the left bank of the river, we passed a fine old red-brick mansion, with a high roof, and large windows of attic stories projecting from its sloping sides, a lofty and well-carved door-frame and pediment in front, altogether resembling many of the old red-brick mansions seen about Cambridge, Clapham, and Hampstead, as the former

residences of the more opulent merchants near London, such as they were accustomed to inhabit a century ago. We learnt that this was on the well-known estate of Colonel Bird, who was a distinguished friend of the English during the revolutionary war, and at whose house the British officers, with the Tories and Loyalists of that day, used to meet for purposes of counsel and mutual aid. The mansion is upwards of a century old—a great age for any private residence in this country; and it appeared to be in better preservation and order than many buildings of five or six years old in other parts of the interior. We were told, by a fellow-passenger, that every part of the interior was built in the most substantial manner, the walls covered with wainscoat panelling, the ceilings having excellent carvings, the staircases broad, with solid banisters, and everything about it indicative of that taste for strength, durability, and comfort, which characterized the British domestic architecture, both of the mother-country and her colonies, a hundred years since. The out-offices were built as substantially and with as much regularity as the mansion, and everything about the establishment wore the appearance of opulence and permanence, united with neatness and convenience, which is certainly very unusual in the country residences of American planters of the present day. The estate, we understood, had passed out of the Bird family, and was now in other hands; but its present possessor appears to have caught the conservative spirit of its original proprietor, and to keep every thing about the grounds and mansion in the most perfect order. It was the most

English-looking estate that we had seen in the country ; and from the softness and beauty of many of the landscapes along the banks of the stream, we might have fancied ourselves sailing down the Thames—except that the much greater breadth of the James-river prevented the exact resemblance.

It was about one o'clock, after being five hours under way from the place where we started, and going at the rate of twelve miles an hour, that we came in sight of the position occupied by the first English settlement ever made permanent on the continent of America, namely, James-Town, founded by Captain John Smith in 1607. The first legislative assembly of freemen, as the germ of a representative government, ever met together on this continent, was also held here in 1621. We touched at it to land some passengers for Williamsburgh, which is distant about seven miles from this, inland—this being the nearest point of navigation to it by the James-river, as it is an inland town, lying midway between this and the York-river. It was anciently the legislative capital of the province, but it is now a small and declining town, having not more than 1,000 inhabitants. It is one of the very few places in America that have any antiquities in them, and is thus interesting from that circumstance. The remains of the old palace, or Colonial governor's residence, as well as of the old Capitol, or legislative hall, are still shown ; and the old Raleigh tavern, at which the Revolutionary Committees met in the War of Independence, is still kept as a public-house, with the bust of Sir Walter Raleigh over the porch of entrance.

The most important building, however, at Williamsburgh, is the college of William and Mary, founded in 1639, by the sovereigns whose names it bears, they having made a royal grant of 20,000 acres of land for its support. This was subsequently augmented by grants from the Colonial Assembly, of certain duties on all tobacco, spirituous liquors, and furs, exported from the province—strange sources of revenue for the support of learning and piety, for the promotion of which this college was endowed! By its charter of 1693, it was to have five Professors, one of Greek, one of Latin, one of Mathematics, and two of Divinity, to which was added a sixth Professor, for instructing the native Indians in Christianity. The funds for this last Professorship were furnished by the celebrated philosopher, Robert Boyle, of England, who gave an estate, called the Brafferton estate, from his own property, to support this benevolent object; and like the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge at home, this college had its representative in the General Legislative Assembly of the Colony.

Of James-Town, where we stopped, though it was once a large place, there is not now a single dwelling remaining. The only relic of its ancient buildings is a small portion of brick-work belonging to the first Christian church ever erected on this continent, and this is fast going to decay! By any other people than the Americans, such a relic as this would be taken the greatest care of, enclosed, and preserved, as a precious memorial of the days of their forefathers. But though there is much talk in the New England States of veneration for the character of the Pilgrim

Fathers, and loud professions in the Southern States, of great veneration for their revolutionary heroes and statesmen, such as Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Patrick Henry, Richard Lee, and others—both the Northerners and Southerners seem unwilling to testify their admiration by anything more than words, which cost nothing; for when any expense is to be incurred, whether to enclose the Rock of Plymouth, or erect the Monument of Bunker's Hill, to honour the Tomb of Washington, to preserve that of Jefferson, or to save this relic of the times of Smith, Powhatan, and Pocahontas, from destruction—no one seems willing to put their hands in their purses; but all is suffered to crumble into decay.

The Island on which James-Town stood, is united at its north-western end to the mainland by a long low bridge on perpendicular piles; and the bay or harbour formed between its south-eastern end and the shore is still used as a place of shelter for the small-craft of the river; while a solitary farm-house, of modern erection, is the only building now seen over all the space. Near the fragment of the old church are several trees prettily grouped, and among them, overhanging the few tombs that still remain, is a fine weeping willow, an appropriate accompaniment of the scene! James-Town was the chief seat of the Colonial Government from 1607 to 1698, when a great fire occurred, and destroyed most of the public records; the capital was then transferred to Williamsburgh, where it continued till 1779. It was then removed by the first American State Government to Richmond, which has retained that pre-eminence ever since. The property of the Island of

James-Town, has frequently changed hands. It was last in the possession of the family of the Amblers, but it is now the property of a person bearing the same name as its founder, Smith.

After we left James-Town, the storm increased to such violence, and the rain fell so heavily, that it was difficult to see more than half a mile ahead, and consequently the view of the banks on either side was quite obscured, as we stood down the river in mid-channel. Nevertheless, there was much to interest us in the passage. In our way we met the fine large steamer, Patrick Henry, from Norfolk, which saluted the Thomas Jefferson as she passed. It is the custom in each of the States, to call their steam-vessels after the names of the great men which their State has produced, so that you will be sure to meet the Washington in the Potomac, the De Witt Clinton in the Hudson, the Daniel Webster in the harbour of Boston, the Andrew Jackson on the Tennessee river, the Henry Clay on the Kentucky, and the John Calhoun at Charleston ; this being a cheap way of doing honour to the leading men of the several States, and at the same time so keeping before the public eye, the claims which each presents to admiration, as to proclaim to all beholders, the superiority of their particular State to every other in the Union. This sectional feeling is carried to a greater height, I think, in this than in any other country under the sun. The traveller will, accordingly, hear every day in conversation, and meet every day in the public prints, with proofs innumerable—first, of the natives of each State believing the section of their birth to be superior to all others, in

the production of the best things, as well as of the best men ;—and then, after all this, differing among themselves as to which shall have precedence over each other :—all uniting with wonderful harmony to claim superiority, as a whole, over every other country in the world, old or new, past or present, or even that which is to come. It would fill a large volume to give the instances of this kind furnished by the papers of the Union in any single week, but I content myself with the following examples, from the Richmond papers of the day, on board—

“MR. WEBSTER IN LONDON.—A London correspondent of the Albany Advertiser says :—Our distinguished countryman, Mr. Webster, is receiving the most flattering attentions, and I must confess I have been disappointed at the *homage* every where done him by the aristocracy of this proud and lordly community. Mr. W. is surely an extraordinary man, unassuming and courteous alike to inferiors and superiors (*if any such he has*), dignified and commanding, so much so, that strangers, from the first moment they meet him, pay him voluntary reverence. During the last two months I have seen much of him, and assure you that every moment has tended to increase my admiration of the man, and it is now *my solemn conviction that the world has not his superior!* I have almost become satisfied that he has no ambitious aspirations for himself, but with the sublime and patriotic feelings of a great and good man, he desires to leave himself in the hands of his countrymen, to be disposed of as his country's good may require, regardless of all consequences to himself. Such a man is a *sublime spectacle*, in these days of political corruption and misrule. But such is Daniel Webster. Unlike some of our foreign functionaries, he knows no difference among his countrymen, so far as they have merit to recommend them. He is alike beloved and respected by all; and be he at the table of the rich, or on the floor of the House of Lords, he is the attraction, *the charm, and the admiration of all who behold him!*

Mr. Clay, however, is the popular idol of the Whigs in the South, as Mr. Webster is in the North; and, accordingly, while the London correspondents of the Northern papers furnish their eulogies on the greatest man *out* of America—since, in the words of the writer, “the world has not his superior”—the poets and prose writers at home, sing the praises of the greatest man *in* America, now that Mr. Webster is not here. These are the strains of one of them—

“Hail to the Statesman great and wise!
The Patriot true and bold!
Where'er our trophied Eagle flies,
His name with pride is told;
From Maine's dark pines, and crags of snow,
To where magnolian breezes blow
O'er rich Floridian flowers;
From hilly East to prairied West,
We hail him as our MIGHTIEST—
Rejoice in him as *ours*.
“His heart has bent in sympathy
Where'er, *throughout the world*,
The yoked have fought for liberty
With freedom's flag unfurled.
Say, Greece! when nations saw you bleed,
Who, trumpet-tongued, proclaimed your need?
And climes of Andes, say!
That templed land with answering shout,
And those stern summits thunder out,
The name of HENRY CLAY.*

* Though the Greeks and the South Americans had the sympathies of Mr. Clay, when they shook off the yoke of their oppressors, he has always opposed, to the last hour, the freedom of the North American Slaves; and declared, that if any attempt were made to give them liberty, he would oppose their liberation to the death!

In one of the recent papers here, I met with a paragraph, which I could not help reading to some of those who boasted most of the superior morality of America to all the countries of Europe, and the superior protection of person and property which men enjoyed in this country, to that afforded them in England, as well as the greater freedom of religious opinions. The paragraph showed that all these were set at defiance, very recently, in a State that boasts peculiarly of her New England population, the greatest number of her citizens being natives of Massachusetts and Connecticut, so productive of excellence in men and women. The paragraph is this, from the Norfolk Beacon—

“We learn from the ‘Cincinnati Republican,’ that two persons, one named Mead, a ‘Perfectionist priest,’ and the other Foot, were *tarred and feathered* by the inhabitants of the village of Batavia, Geauga county, Ohio, and after having been ridden on a rail for about five miles, were set at liberty. Outrages of this character, perpetrated against the rights of individuals, under whatever pretext they may, are wrong and unjustifiable, and cannot but disgrace the community in which they occur.”

My companions admitted that this was wrong; but then, they added the almost constant remark, “You do not make sufficient allowance for us as a *young* country;” and this, too, in the face of their acquiescence in the justice of those boasts, which claimed for America and the Americans, superiority over all the *old* countries of the world! So inconsistent are those who thus see their virtues through the magnifying, and their faults through the diminishing medium, and turn everything to the indulgence of their national vanity. To show, however,

that if in years America is a young country, she is not so in extravagance of personal expenditure, the following extract from a New York paper, taken from the prolific columns of the same file which furnished the former ones, may be cited—

“From the New York Dispatch.—WHO SAYS THE TIMES ARE HARD?—Walk in Broadway at the promenade hours, and see the wealth of the Indies carried on the backs of the ladies; notice the tasteful and elegant establishments that roll along the carriage paths; see the doors of the fashionable shopkeepers, with as many carriages drawn up before them as if a great man’s levee were held at each—who says, in the face of these facts, that the times are hard?”

“Look at the elegant fabrics, which Cleopatra might have desired! By the way, of Cleopatra: had Egypt offered a Broadway to go a-shopping in, she could have melted the *revenue of a province* there faster than by dissolving pearls in vinegar. Look into the interior of the splendid stores which line the principal thoroughfares in our city—turn into the furniture and furnishing warehouses—and see the means of gratification for republican luxury. For all these things, *which in elegance surpass any thing which Xerxes knew*, there is apparently no lack of purchasers—and yet the times are hard!”

But, amidst all this luxury of the older countries, there is, indeed, a sad mixture of the barbarity and violence of a new one. Even in Cincinnati, as we have seen, the Queen City, as she is called, the tarring and feathering a “Perfectionist Priest,” is executed by mob violence, as in the worst days of Puritanical persecution; but in addition to this instance of religious intolerance in that quarter, here is another, of outrages against men merely for their religious opinions, in the West.

“THE MORMONS have excited a good deal of interest in Cin-

cinnati, where one of the sect has been giving a history of that people and of the persecutions to which they have been recently exposed in Missouri.—It is stated in the report given in the Cincinnati News, that they were ruthlessly driven from their homes, their property destroyed, the women and children forced into the woods, without shelter from the inclemency of the weather, where they roamed about till their feet became so sore, that their enemies *tracked them by their foot-prints of blood*. The Mormons stated that there were instances where men were murdered in cold blood, and boys, who had taken shelter from the fury of the mob, were dragged from their hiding-places, and after being cruelly maltreated, deliberately shot. In one case, an old man, *a soldier of the revolution*, was pursued by a mob, but finding he could not escape, turned and *supplicated their mercy*. The reply he received was a shot from a rifle, which wounded him mortally; he still besought them to spare him, when one of the party picked up a scythe, or sickle, and *literally hacked him to pieces* as he lay on the ground.

“Thomas Morris, formerly U. S. Senator, addressed the meeting.—He said he had been in the vicinity of these transactions, and had taken some pains to acquaint himself with the facts; and from all he could learn, the Mormons were an industrious and harmless people; that no specific charges had been brought against them by the Executive of Missouri; but that their persecution was for no other reason than that their *religion* gave offence to a mob—for causes which may at any time induce the same persecution of any religious sect in our land. He said he believed the statements made to be true, and that they were corroborated by those who resided in the vicinity of their occurrence.”

But these mobs not only take upon themselves to decide what religion a man shall believe; they determine also what degree of punishment a culprit shall receive; and though they more frequently set the law at defiance by punishing their victims previous to a trial, in some cases they do it afterwards. Here is an instance from a recent paper.

*"Lynching in a Court House,—*At Copiah in Mississippi, shortly after a prisoner, named Alvin Carpenter, charged with murdering the late Judge Keller, had been acquitted of the crime, and convicted of manslaughter only, a mob rushed into the room, put out the lights, stabbed Carpenter in several places, and cut off his head, leaving him dead on the floor!"

In the arrears of their Law Courts, and in the amount of fees accumulated by the "law's delay," they seem very much like "an old country," and not at all like a young one, as the newest of their States in the following will show.

"At the recent session of the U. S. Circuit Court in Mississippi, there were 2,700 cases on the docket. The fees of the Clerk of the Court for the session, were upwards of 40,000 dollars."

One other trait of American feelings I cannot omit to mention, as suggested by another extract from the file of three days' papers before referred to; and in which they are as inconsistent as in all things else. There is not, I think, a nation upon the earth, more prone to make distinctions among men, from their birth and wealth, than the Americans. The talk about "old families," and being "highly connected," and "moving in the first circles of society;" and the looking down with contempt upon "people whom nobody knows," or who are "not in society;" is nowhere carried to a greater extent than here; and the very children are found making these distinctions. This will account for the amazing eagerness with which the greater number of Americans who go to England and France, seek to be introduced at Court, and affect to be patronized and received by the nobility and fashionable world there. This has been carried to such an extent of late, as to have

become the subject of just ridicule among themselves; and especially since the "Victoria fever," as it is popularly called, has prevailed so extensively in this country, where the name of Victoria has been appended to almost every thing, from Mr. Sully's portrait of the Queen, down to the last new oyster-shop opened in New York. Yet, amidst all these, this they instil in their school-books and lessons to children, and by various modes among adults, the most virulent hostility to royalty. The term of the greatest opprobrium which they think can apply to a man, is to call him "an aristocrat;" and to a politician, to call him "a royalist."

In conversation and discussions on all these points, sometimes waxing warm, but happily terminating in peace and harmony, we were occupied during the storm of wind and rain which prevented our going on deck, from James-town to Norfolk, into the harbour of which we entered about five o'clock, passing close under the stern of the Brandywine frigate, lying abreast of the Naval Hospital, and threading our way up through the forest of schooners and other small craft that had run in here to take shelter from the gale, we reached the wharf in safety. The rain, however, still fell in torrents, the wharves were mostly overflowed, and the streets were filled with water; so that we had to wade our way through ponds of water to French's Hotel, where we found excellent quarters and agreeable company.

CHAP. XXI.

Description of Norfolk—Antiquity of the town—Excellence of its harbour—Portsmouth and Gosport—Navy Yard—Population, slave and free—Gradual decline of trade—Slave and free States—Revived culture of silk—Central Atlantic States best adapted to its growth—Agriculture and mining neglected for more exciting pursuits—Influence of political agitation on rural industry—Excursion to the Navy Yard—Portsmouth and Gosport—Completeness of the establishment—Visit to the great ship-of-the-line, *Pennsylvania*—Description and dimensions of this splendid vessel—British frigates captured by the Americans—Inconsistency of war with Christianity—Naval Asylum—Size, efficiency, and equipment of American frigates—Free negroes as able seamen—Character and manners of American naval officers.

NORFOLK is an old Colonial town, having received its charter of incorporation from the British government, and stands next to Williamsburgh in point of date, that being the oldest existing town in all Virginia. The excellence of its port and harbour must have recommended it as an early place of settlement, as soon as it was sufficiently well known; as it is superior to that of James Town, or indeed any other spot within the whole extent of the Virginia coast. It is so far in from the sea, so winding in its passage of entrance, and so entirely land-locked, that it affords the most complete shelter from all winds; while it has depth of water for the largest vessels that float, with shallow anchorages for the smallest craft, and excellent holding-ground for all. The

points of projecting land on both sides of the channel, from the Capes of Virginia up to the town, are also well fortified, so as to make it as secure from the ravages of an enemy as it is from the fury of the storm; nor is the navigation of entrance or exit ever interrupted by adverse winds, by ice, or by any other cause, at any season of the year.

The town is built on a level but projecting plain, about eight miles within or above Hampton Roads, on the north bank of the Elizabeth river, where the junction of its southern and eastern branches just meet the tide-waters of the sea. Its present area covers nearly 800 acres of ground; and buildings are every year extending themselves beyond this. The plan of the town is not marked by that extreme regularity which is so characteristic of American cities generally; but even in this respect it is much improved of late years, the streets being now more regular, and the houses larger and more substantially built, than they were formerly.

I have before stated that Norfolk was the only place in the United States of America, that I had ever visited previous to my present tour. This was as long ago as the year 1809, just thirty years since, when the intercourse between Great Britain and America was for a short time suspended by what was called the Non-intercourse Act. At that period, however, I came here, from London, in an American ship, called the *Rising States*, of Marble-head, commanded by Captain Atkins Adams, now living at Fairhaven in Massachusetts, and with whom we had the pleasure to pass an agreeable fortnight in December of last year. At this period of my first

visit to Norfolk, the town was not more than half its present size ; the streets were crooked, narrow, and unpaved, and the dwellings were almost wholly of wood ; the Navy-yard was just in embryo, the fortifications hardly begun, and the Naval Asylum not even projected. The town is now large in extent, its streets are straight, broad, and well paved, and the houses are chiefly of brick, several large fires having from time to time removed all the wooden ones. The Navy-yard is one of the best in the Union ; the fortifications are the strongest and most efficient on the coast ; and the Naval Asylum is the best building of the description in the country. While these changes had been effected in the aspect of the place, others of a more painful kind had occurred in the society to whom I was then introduced, and in the enjoyment of whose friendly hospitalities I had passed four agreeable winter months. Death had swept away whole families, who were then numerous, and apparently all in vigorous health ; many had removed to other and more busy seats of commercial activity ; and others had emigrated to the Far West ; so that out of upwards of a hundred individuals, whose names, professions, ages, and persons, I could familiarly recall to my own recollection, and many to the recollection of some of the older residents still remaining here, not one was now to be found, with whom to talk over the events and incidents of so comparatively short a period as thirty years ago ! I do not think it possible that such a change could have taken place in any town of similar size in England ; and here it is to be accounted for by the operation of two powerful causes ;—first, the inferior

healthiness of the climate to that of England ; and, secondly, the more unsettled and migratory character of the people, who have fewer local attachments, I believe, than any people known ; and who constantly move from place to place, and abandon friends, relatives, connexions, and associations, with an indifference that appears as unamiable as it is surprising.

There are few public buildings of great beauty or interest in the town of Norfolk. Neither the Court-House, Custom-house, Alms-house, Academy, or Mason's Lodge, have anything remarkable in their architecture ; and even the Churches, of which there are eight in number, though neat and commodious within, have less commanding exteriors than these edifices in general possess ; so that they add little or nothing to the beauty of the town. Of these last, there are two Episcopalian—one of them, St. Paul's, being a hundred years old, built in 1739, of bricks brought from England—two Methodist, one Baptist, one Catholic, and one for coloured persons, slaves and free. A Lyceum and Infant School House have lately been erected, and a Theatre, to be called "The Avon," is nearly complete, to be under the direction of Mr. George Jones, the American tragedian, who was in England, and who is endeavouring to effect the same reform in the drama in this country that Mr. Macready has done at home, by restoring the legitimate plays of the old school, especially those of Shakspeare, and performing only the most approved and classical productions of modern pens. There are two newspapers, the Herald, and Beacon, the former, whig—the latter, moderate democrat ;

with a larger proportion of hotels and taverns, than an inland town of the same size would require. There are several societies of a benevolent kind, one called "The Hannah More Society," for the education of poor children, of which we saw seventeen baptized in one afternoon at the Episcopalian church of St. Michael's. In the neighbourhood of the town, a large piece of ground has been recently laid out as a public Cemetery, and this is tastefully adorned with trees and shrubs.

Opposite to Norfolk, on the southern bank of the Elizabeth-river, and distant about a mile, is the town of Portsmouth; and to the south of this, and almost adjoining it, is the suburb of Gosport, at which is the Navy Yard; the communication from Norfolk to Portsmouth being by a steam ferry-boat, and from Portsmouth to Gosport, by a wooden bridge.

The population of Norfolk is estimated at 12,000 persons; and Portsmouth and Gosport united, about 3,000. Of these, the proportions are thought to be 8,000 whites, 6,000 black slaves, and 1,000 free people of colour.

Notwithstanding the excellence of Norfolk as a port, and its central position on the coast, as the inlet to the oldest, largest, and most beautiful State in the Union, has little commerce; and, at the present moment, there were only four square-rigged vessels in the port; a French ship, loading tobacco for France; a Philadelphia ship, loading lumber for the West Indies; a Boston ship, waiting for freight; and a small brig under repair. The contrast which this slender catalogue presents to the forests of masts seen along the wharves of New York, and still more

of those lining the banks of the Mississippi at New Orleans, is very striking. Some years ago, Norfolk enjoyed a considerable trade with the West Indies, but this has gone to the two rival ports named above; and even in the shipment of tobacco and flour, for which Norfolk was the principal port of Virginia thirty years ago, Richmond has taken its place, so that of trade little remains to it beyond the transit of goods to and from Wilmington in North Carolina, by means of the Dismal-Swamp Canal. There seems so little of hope or energy in the few remaining mercantile establishments here, that though there is frequent talk of Southern conventions for the purpose of restoring the direct trade between Europe and the ports of the South, it seems very doubtful whether any beneficial change in this respect will take place, till free labour takes the place of slave-labour in Virginia and Carolina, and till the two States shall be filled up in their interior with a large industrious, enterprising, and consuming white population, for whose supply large imports will be required. Then, indeed, Norfolk may hope to equal New York, which flourishes chiefly because she has a populous and consuming community pressing all around her, to which she becomes, therefore, the direct port of supply. For the same reason, New York is the chief point of entrance for the emigrants from Europe, not merely because they can be most cheaply and speedily landed there, but also because, in that busy scene, they are most likely to obtain immediate employment, or immediate transport to the West, whichever they desire. While at Norfolk, therefore, there

does not arrive 100 emigrants in the year, the following is the number arriving at New York—

“EMIGRATION.—The ‘New York American’ estimates the passengers that have arrived in this country within the last twenty years at 1,000,000. The ‘Journal of Commerce’ has compiled the following statement of arrivals *at that port* for each of the last twenty years—

<i>Years.</i>	<i>Passengers.</i>	<i>Years.</i>	<i>Passengers.</i>
1819	- 9,442	1829	- 16,064
1820	- 4,430	1830	- 30,224
1821	- 4,452	1831	- 31,739
1822	- 4,811	1832	- 48,589
1823	- 4,999	1833	- 41,752
1824	- 5,452	1834	- 48,110
1825	- 8,779	1835	- 35,303
1826	- 9,764	1836	- 60,441
1827	- 22,000	1837	- 54,975
1828	- 19,023	1838	- 25,681
First ten years 93,152		Second ten years 392,878	

In twenty years 486,030 passengers.

Corresponding with this will be found the immense activity of conveyance from that city to the interior—

“There are 126 steamers on the Hudson river, (including ferry-boats,) of which 58 are employed in towing freight barges, 12 for pleasure excursions, 17 undergoing repairs, 8 running between New York and Albany, 3 between New York and Newberg, and the rest to the various towns on the rivers.”

This continued immigration of new settlers, of which the Slave States receive scarcely any proportion, and Virginia probably less than all, is continually going on at other points. It is stated, by a recent report of a Committee of Congress, that no

less than 80,000 emigrants passed westward from Louisville, in Kentucky, to the free States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, in the short space of five months. In four months of one year, 10,000 emigrants passed a single ferry at New Albany for the West! Upwards of 1,000 Saxons arrived lately at New Orleans, to ascend the Mississippi to Iowa, having, it was said, more than 100,000*l.* in gold and silver coin with them, as capital; and a late Baltimore paper, the "*American*," says, that within two or three days, there had been ten arrivals at that port from Bremen, bringing about 1,200 German emigrants, all bound to the free States of the West; while a large body of Norwegians, the first importation from that quarter, also landed on the shores of America, to add to the free population of the interior States! The Slave sections of the country receive none of the advantages which all this augmentation of a free white population creates, and this is the chief reason of their stationary condition; though, if Slavery were abolished in Virginia, and free labour duly encouraged to take its place, there is no reason why it should not soon fill up with as large a proportion of emigrants as any other section of the country. We should then see the Chesapeake crowded with steamers, and Norfolk harbour filled with ships and vessels, as thickly as the waters of the West. Of the extent of these, in half the time that has elapsed since James Town was founded, or since Baltimore and Norfolk have been considerable towns and ports, let the following statement testify—

"STEAM-BOATS IN THE WEST.—It appears there are now 378 steam-boats running on the Western and South-western waters. Of

this number, according to a statement in the 'Daily Advocate,' no less than 130 were built in Pittsburg. But the statement or enrolment of boats is for the 1st of January last; and since that period, it appears from the 'Advocate's' paragraph, that 21 steam-boats have been built and cleared, and 9 new boats are in progress of construction at Pittsburg, thus making 160 steam-boats now afloat, or soon to be, on the Western waters, from the ship-yards of the western Birmingham. The whole number of steam-boats on the Western and South-western waters, may then be stated at 408. And within the memory of middle-aged men, there was not a "solitary" steam-boat on the Western waters!"

There are some who are very sanguine as to the benefits which will be conferred on this State of Virginia in general, and on the country around Norfolk in particular, by the new, or rather revived, culture of silk. As long ago as 1650, a pamphlet was published in London, by a writer named Edward Williams, recommending the cultivation of silk in Virginia. Even before this, as we learn from Cox's "Description of Carolina," the English colonists of Raleigh's expedition, sent home some silk, of which Queen Elizabeth had a gown made, and wore it at Court; and ten years after Williams's pamphlet was written, when Sir William Berkeley, the loyal governor of Virginia, who, in 1660, went to England from hence to congratulate Charles the Second on his restoration to the English throne, it is stated by the historian Oldmixon, that he was graciously received by Charles, "who, in honour of his loyal Virginians, wore, at his coronation, a robe manufactured of Virginian silk." From that time to this, the culture of this article appears to have been entirely neglected in this State; but it is on the eve of being revived with more than its pristine vigour. Nearly all the

States of the Union, from Maine to Florida, and from New York to Missouri, appear to have entered into the cultivation of the *morus multicaulis* tree, for the purpose of rearing silkworms, and producing silk.

With the results already obtained, and with the well-founded prospects held out for the future, it is hardly to be wondered at, that all classes of persons in this country should be looking to the culture of silk as a branch of enterprise and industry, which is likely to rival even that of cotton itself, especially as the latter is confined of necessity to those Southern States in which a certain heat of climate is essential for its production; whereas, the silkworm can be reared, and silk produced and manufactured in the northern as well as in the southern States, and westward of the Mississippi as well as on the borders of the Atlantic. But the central Atlantic States, from New Jersey and Pennsylvania to the Carolinas and Georgia, are, no doubt, the best adapted to the culture, and in these it is probable that it will flourish most. Indeed, in these, and in Maryland and Virginia, the soil and climate are so favourable to production of all kinds, that it is more difficult to say what they will not yield than what they will. This is beginning at length to be more generally understood than formerly; and but for the Slave system, which hangs like a curse upon these fertile regions, the inhabitants would have availed themselves of their resources long ago.

The truth is, that agriculture and mining are occupations which are too laborious, too dull, and too steady for the general taste of the Americans, who can-

not live happily but in an atmosphere of excitement ; and therefore commerce, speculation, lotteries, stock-jobbing, and banking, are much more to their taste. They will bustle through the streets, and in their stores, from sunrise to sunset, in the *hope* of turning a hundred dollars profit, and meet on 'Change, buy and sell, speculate and barter, with zeal and activity, dreaming of making their thousands by every large operation. But the sober labour of agriculture is too plodding and too slow for them ; unless it be in the way of some speculating adventure. Thus, when the wheat cultivation was so neglected a few years ago, as to require the importation of grain for food from Europe, the production of cotton was stimulated to its greatest excess, because it was a more gambling kind of commerce. And even now, the *rage* for cultivating the *morus multicaulis*, for such it may be called, arises chiefly from the love of speculation, and delight in excitement, which the enterprise affords.

Political agitation is another powerful cause that draws off the attention of the masses in the interior from the proper cultivation of the soil ; and the time wasted in reading the angry party discussions in the newspapers, in assembling at the country post-offices to know the result of the elections, which are going on nearly all the year round in some part of the country or other, as well as the habit of idle gossiping and lounging in the piazzas of the hotels and at the bars of taverns, with the chewing, smoking, and drinking to which all this leads, are serious drawbacks to the rural industry of America, especially in the Southern States, where slavery comes in

to add its influence to all the other causes of retardation.

Our first excursion, while at Norfolk, was to the Navy Yard of Gosport, the suburb of Portsmouth, on the opposite side of the harbour. Having letters of introduction to Commodore Warrington, who commanded there, we were most cordially received, and the Commodore's son, himself a young officer in the navy, accompanied us in our investigations. This yard is one of the oldest, though not one of the largest, in the United States, containing an area of about twenty acres; and though its original plan is yet far from being filled up, it is, even at present, very complete in all the requisites of a building and repairing establishment. Its ship-houses, or huge sheds, under which are line-of-battle ships and frigates building on the stocks, are equal in size, and superior in construction and finish, to any of those in the best dock-yards of England. Its mast-houses, boat-houses, sail-lofts, smith's forge, and other workshops, are also very efficient, and inferior to none in the world. Its dry-dock is a magnificent structure of New England granite; its solidity and massiveness of material, exquisite closeness of masonry, and its perfect finish of workmanship, would do honour to any country; while its size is sufficient to admit a larger ship than has ever yet been built, even by the Americans, who have, at present, lying alongside the wharf of this navy-yard, the largest vessel of war that has ever yet been launched.

We went to visit this colossal ship, the Pennsylvania, built at Philadelphia, and now lying here ready for equipment when needed. In order that

we might see her from every point of view, we first rowed up and down the Elizabeth-river, on the south bank of which the navy-yard is placed, and by advancing and receding, we had the opportunity of seeing her hull in every variety of position. Nothing can be conceived more graceful and beautiful than the form of this immense structure, as she reposed on the tranquil stream. Her model is perfect, and so skilfully are her mouldings and lines rounded off, so gracefully do they ascend towards the bow, and so softly are they bent towards the stern-post, that the whole fabric does not strike one so much by its magnitude, after all, as by its beauty. In this respect it resembles, in the effect produced, a colossal temple of Greece or Egypt, where the magnitude of size is lost in the symmetry of the design, and where the whole is dwelt upon with that feeling of pleasure produced by the consciousness of stability and repose, and by the sense of a perfection with which no fault can be found—so exquisitely blended, and so harmonious, are all her proportions. From having no poop-deck, the cumbrous appearance of our English line-of-battle ships in that quarter is avoided; and her stern having, for this reason, one tier of cabin windows less, is as light as that of an English 74, though the Pennsylvania has four tiers of batteries or decks, and carries 150 guns. On her cutwater at the head, is placed a colossal bust of the Grecian Hercules, with naked shoulders and breast, the lower part of the waist enveloped with the skin, head, and paws of the Nemean lion, while the head and beard are of the thick curly hair that denotes strength, and the countenance is as majestic as that of Jove himself.

It is the rule of the Naval Service of America, to call their line-of-battle ships after the names of the States, their frigates after their rivers, and their sloops-of-war after their towns ; a most appropriate and convenient nomenclature, as the name of every vessel at once indicates the class to which she belongs, and each State, river, and town in the Union, is thus likely in time to be represented by some ship of the Navy. The Pennsylvania having been built at Philadelphia, it was intended at first to place on her prow the bust of William Penn. But this was soon abandoned, as nothing could be more inappropriate than the figure of the Advocate of Peace, and founder of the City of Brotherly Love, especially as an Englishman, standing on the bow of this floating-citadel, and leading its occupants, with their death-inflicting artillery in an onslaught of blood upon some ship of his native country ; for to such a purpose, in the event of another war would she be destined. In abandoning this intention, therefore, they adopted the idea of substituting the figure of Hercules, as emblematic of the strength of the great bulwark crowned by his bust ; and as a work of art, it forms the most beautiful "figure-head" that I have ever seen in any ship in any service, having strength, simplicity, lightness, and grace, all beautifully united in one.

After examining and admiring the exterior of the hull, we went on board ; and it was here that the immensity of her size became for the first time apparent. Her main-deck battery presented 18 long 42-pounders on each side ; and each of her decks were splendid examples of length, breadth, height,

solidity, and space. On the upper or fourth deck, where the view, in consequence of the absence of a poop, extended in one unbroken line, from taffrel to bowsprit, the vista was magnificent in the extreme. Her length is 237 feet; her breadth of beam 59 feet; her depth amidships 51 feet; and her burden 3,366 tons; her sheet-anchor weighs 11,660 lbs.; the canvass required for one suit of sails, hammocks, awnings, for ship and boats, is about 33,000 yards. But while the vastness of the scale, and the massiveness of the materials, the solidity of the timbers, knees, beams, decks, cable-bitts, capstans, masts, and bulwarks, first rivet the attention; the careful and critical observer cannot fail to be subsequently struck with the minute accuracy and perfection of the interior workmanship; the shipwright's knees being as well fitted as the joiner's or cabinet-maker's bulkheads and cabin ceilings: thus uniting the excellence of greatness in size and minuteness of finish, which was observed by the Arabic historian, Abulfeda, to be characteristic of the Egyptian Sphynx, near the Great Pyramid of Cheops at Memphis, when he said, that "while its gigantic scale placed it among the most colossal monuments of the world, its minuter parts would bear to be examined with a microscope."

On our return to Norfolk, we enjoyed the pleasurable conveyance of one of the man-of-war boats, then at the Navy Yard on duty, Captain Payne of the Grampus schooner politely accompanying us. In our way we passed the noble ship of the line, Delaware, mounting ninety guns, with a fine full-length figure of a Delaware Indian Chief for her figure-

head ; and at the same time we saw two frigates, bearing the names of the English ships taken by the Americans ; the *Guerriere*, the first capture made in the last war by the American frigate *Constitution* ; and the *Java*, another English frigate taken soon after by the same American ship and the same captain, now Commodore Hull, commanding the *Ohio* of eighty guns on the Mediterranean station. These British frigates were so crippled in action, that the first was unfit for repair when taken into port, and the second was sunk in the fight. But it was thought politic to keep constantly alive in the memory of American seamen these conquests from the British on their own element, and thus to stimulate them with the hope of new victories, by having always before them the triumphs of old ones. Two frigates were therefore built by the Americans, and called respectively, the *Guerriere* and the *Java*. The first is now lying up in ordinary, and the second is in commission as the guardship of the port ; but their names will, no doubt, be perpetuated in other ships that may be built to replace them ; a policy of which we, at least, have no right to complain, as it was our constant practice, long before the Americans had a navy at all, to retain the names of the vessels captured from the French, both in our line-of-battle-ships and frigates, as trophies of our prowess by sea, and as examples to our seamen, of what their predecessors had done, and what *they* were expected to achieve also, wherever the opportunity of so doing was presented to them.

In all this, however, there is much to lament, if not to condemn. The propensities to anger, strife,

hatred, jealousy, war, and bloodshed, are already too strong in human nature, without undue excitements, and require curbing rather than spurring on, in the mildest and best of our race ; but when this tendency is continually strengthened, by warlike armaments and deadly weapons, being made matter of exhibition of national pride, and mutual emulation, as to who shall excel in their production ; and when to all this is still further added, the willing homage of mankind to those who conduct these armaments, and use these deadly weapons with the most destructive effect, almost deifying as heroes, the most successful slaughterers of their fellow-men, and stigmatizing as cowards those, who by precept and example, endeavour to stay the sacrifice of human life rather than promote it ; when all this is daily taking place, in the most intelligent, moral, and religious communities on earth, for so, with all their defects, America and England may fairly be considered, how can we wonder that in less enlightened lands, such as Spain, Portugal, and Turkey, the ravages of war should be almost perpetual, and the fairest portions of the earth, though it is “ God’s footstool,” be daily drenched with the blood of man, shed by his fellow being !

The second excursion we made from Norfolk was to see the Naval Asylum, built on a projecting piece of land, just opposite the usual anchorage of the ships of war in the harbour, and forming a very pleasing as well as appropriate object in the marine picture. This Asylum has been erected out of a Hospital Fund, contributed by the officers and seamen of the United States’ Navy, at the rate of 20 cents, or

ten-pence sterling per month from their pay, without asking or receiving any aid either from the general or the State government. It is intended to answer the double purpose of a hospital for the sick belonging to the ships of the navy on service and in the port, and an asylum for the aged and the disabled, when no longer fit for active duty. It is a large quadrangular building, composed of a front, a rear, and two side-wings; forming a square of about 200 feet on each side. The front pile of this quadrangle has a noble Doric portico of ten massive columns, with an ascending flight of steps, an entablature, frieze, and pediment, all in excellent taste. Before it is a fine lawn, formed by the projecting point of the little promontory on which it stands, with gravel-walks, trees, and shrubs, and surrounded by the sea on three of its sides. In this range are contained the residences of the director, surgeons, and officers, with the board-room and other offices. The two side-wings are devoted to the sick-wards and the sleeping-rooms, for the inmates; the healthy and the sick being kept, of course, apart. These are three stories in height, with a spacious balcony or veranda to each story, both on the outer front, and on the inner one, presented to the central internal square. Every practicable arrangement seems to have been made in these, for durability, cleanliness, ventilation, and comfort. The rear range is devoted to baths, of which there are all varieties, of hot, cold, and shower baths, of fresh-water or sea-water, as required; and in this range are also other offices conducive to the comfort and efficiency of the establishment.

Besides the spacious lawn in front of the Asylum, and the more secluded grass-plats in the central or internal square, a large and beautiful garden sweeps round the rear of the pile, in a semicircular form. This is enclosed by a high and well-constructed brick-wall, admirably adapted for wall-fruit trees, and the interior is laid out with great taste and judgment, in the happy admixture of grass-plats, gravel walks, fruit-trees, shrubs, and flower-beds ; furnishing abundance, variety, and pleasurable occupation, to all who are able to enjoy it. Outside this more ornamental garden, is a second semicircular sweep, devoted to the cultivation of roots and vegetables for culinary purposes ; and beyond this again, pressing close upon its limits, is a fine dry pine-tree grove, intersected by paths, and open places, like the Bois de Boulogne, near Paris, and admirably adapted for the exercise of driving, riding, or walking, at all times of the day, and at all seasons of the year.

Around the edge of the projecting land on which the hospital stands, there is a hard white sandy beach, affording the most delightful bathing in the open sea, within hail of the usual anchorage, for ships of war ; a frigate and a schooner being now at anchor there. The view right and left from hence extends over a considerable space, embracing the towns of Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Gosport, on the one hand, with all the stationary shipping in their respective harbours ; and on the other, it extends to Craney Island, the mouth of the James-river, Old Point Comfort, and the entrance between the Capes of the Chesapeake, with all the moving variety of ships and vessels arriving and departing at all hours

of the day. It is impossible to imagine, indeed, a more delightful or more appropriate spot for a Naval Hospital than this ; and it was agreeable to us to learn from various quarters, that its inmates, who are at present but few in number, not exceeding twenty, are very happy ; and that its management unites medical skill and paternal kindness in the highest degree.

In our way from the Hospital we visited the schooner *Grampus*, and the frigate *Brandywine*, both lying here ready for sea, the first waiting for orders, and the second about to proceed to the Mediterranean. The schooner was about 200 tons, mounted 12 guns, 18-pound carronades, and carried a crew of seventy men. She was most efficient in every requisite, and was in beautiful order. The frigate was a superb ship of her class. She was originally built to bring over General Lafayette, in his friendly visit to America, about the year 1806 ; and was called the *Brandywine*, in compliment to him, this being the name of one of the American rivers, near Wilmington, in Delaware, on the banks of which Lafayette was engaged, in the war of the Revolution, and contributed to the successful issue of the battle of the *Brandywine*. The name, however, is not a happy one, and many of the officers of the ship desire that it should be changed to the *Lafayette*. The ship is one of the finest frigates I ever remember to have seen. Her exterior form is the perfection of nautical beauty ; she sits on the water with the lightness and grace of a bird ; and, as in the *Pennsylvania*, the harmony of her proportions, and the faultless beauty of her model,

take away from the impression of her size. But when you stand upon her deck, her dimensions then display themselves. She is 197 feet long, within a few feet, therefore, of the length of the usual run of English line-of-battle ships, which in two-deckers rarely exceeds 200 feet ; her breadth and height are in full proportion to her length ; and she measures about 2,000 tons. She mounts 60 guns, long 32-pounders, and has a crew of 470 men.

In all her internal arrangements, in efficiency of stores, and completeness of equipment in every respect, no English frigate that I have ever seen, could surpass her ; and her crew was the finest set of men I ever saw assembled on a ship's deck. I was present at their muster, saw them at their work, and was on board while they took their dinner, so that I had ample opportunity to observe them under various aspects. The odious and detestable practice of impressment never being resorted to, in order to man the American ships of war, the officer in command, while the ship is fitting out, has it in his power to select the best men that offer, and thus to have a picked crew. In addition to the excellent wages of twelve dollars, or about 2*l.* 10*s.* sterling per month, and full rations of the best provisions, a bounty of thirty-six dollars, or about 7*l.* 10*s.* sterling, equal to three months' pay, is given to every able seaman entering for three years, which is the utmost limit of the term required, with power of renewal or of liberty at its termination.

In the Brandywine there were forty able seamen, who were free negroes. I was much struck with the fine, and even noble appearance of these men ; their

erect and muscular forms no longer crouching under the influence of forced servitude, nor their heads hung down under a consciousness of inferiority, but leading a free, bold, independent, and active life, their appearance partook of these new influences, and they were among the finest-looking men in the ship. In answer to my inquiries of the first-lieutenant, who had been upwards of thirty years in the service, I learnt that they received exactly the same bounty, the same wages, the same rations, and the same privileges as the whites; and that in their arrangements and classification for duty, as fore-castle-men, top-men, waisters, and after-guard, no distinction was made between black and white, but each were mingled indiscriminately, and classed only by their relative degrees of seamanship. In this, he said, the blacks were not at all inferior to the whites, either in their skill, readiness, or courage. Nor did the white seamen evince the slightest reluctance to be associated with them on terms of the most perfect equality in the discharge of their duties, or make their colour a subject of antipathy or reproach. The cooks and stewards were chiefly coloured men, because they stand the heat better, and fall into these occupations more readily; and from the negro seamen, the launch for wooding and watering, and for anchor duty, was generally manned, because the African constitution could stand the heat of the sun, and the atmosphere of swamps and marshes, better than the American. In point of health, however, they were quite equal; and while the service was rendered more efficient by this arrangement, neither party objected to the classification. It was really to

me a most agreeable sight to see forty or fifty of these fine athletic Africans holding up their heads like men, and looking as if conscious of their independence and equality, though at the same time respectful, obedient, and less frequently subjected to punishment for neglect of duty, than their white brethren.

The officers of the ships we had visited to-day, and, indeed, all those of the naval service of America that I had yet seen, either now, or at any former time—and I have seen them in many parts of the world, and under a great variety of circumstances—appeared to me in no degree inferior to the officers of the British navy, in knowledge of their profession, gentlemanly manners, or general information : in one respect, indeed, they seemed to me superior to the officers of our own service, generally ; namely, in the entire absence of hauteur, and overbearing self-importance ; and in the exhibition of great mildness, and respect towards those out of their profession. Here there is no young officer, who dares presume on his high connections, to play the tyrant over his men ; no sons of wealthy parents, who can afford to give them large annual allowances beyond their pay ; nor are there any of the numerous class of persons possessing parliamentary interest in their families, and thereby counting on promotions and appointments, which their shipmates of longer service, and greater merits, cannot obtain for want of such connections.

In the absence of all these exciting causes of dissatisfaction, which are so prolific of discontent among the officers in the British Navy ; the American Naval Service is a dignified, quiet, friendly, and gentlemanly school ; where there are no high-born to look

down upon the low ; no very rich, to annoy, and vex by contrast, the humbler poor ; and no favourites of fortune to be run up from midshipmen to post-captains in a few years, while grey-headed lieutenants look on with silent disgust and secret indignation. The promotions in the American Navy are by seniority, as in our Royal Marines and Artillery ; and as in the East India Company's Navy and Army : and though in all such cases, the promotion will be slow, yet it being equitable, and equally rapid for all ; the sense of its justice reconciles men to wait for their advancement, if all are obliged to do the same. The pay, too, is more liberal than ours. An American midshipman, besides being treated much more like a gentleman by his superior officers, than is too frequently the case in the British Navy, is four times as well paid while in active service, and receives for his half-pay, when not employed, nearly three times as much as the English midshipman on full pay : the latter, when not employed, getting no half-pay at all. Lieutenants, masters, pursers, surgeons, captains, and commodores, all receive from twice to three times the amount of pay allowed to similar ranks in the British Navy. The consequence is, that, whether promoted or not, American Naval officers can all live like gentlemen on their pay, whether on home or foreign service ; whereas English Naval officers, with nothing but their pay, experience the greatest difficulty to keep out of debt ; and many, from despair of obtaining promotion, abandon themselves to habits, which bring both themselves and the service into disrepute.

CHAP. XXII.

Visit to the Fortifications at Old Point Comfort—The Rip-Raps, like the Plymouth Break-water—Stoppage of works from suspension of funds—List of the public defaulters to Government—Fish dinners—Comparison between American and English Churches—Religion and Slavery—Capture of Spanish slaves—Distinctions—Internal slave-trade and slave-mart in Norfolk—Society of Norfolk—General ease and frankness of the men—Beauty of the women—Social and polished manners—Colonial Society—The Dismal Swamp.

THE third excursion we made from Norfolk, was to Old Point Comfort, the fort erected to guard the outer entrance from the Chesapeake Bay to Hampton Roads, James-river and the harbour of Norfolk. We embarked, for this purpose, on board the steamer called “The Old Dominion”—a very favourite name with the Virginians, one of the newspapers published at the opposite town of Portsmouth bearing the same title—and leaving Norfolk at ten in the forenoon, we proceeded down the harbour, passing the beautiful schooner and magnificent frigate lying off the Naval Hospital, and a number of dismasted and disabled vessels, that had taken shelter here after the late destructive gale. Continuing our way past Craney Island, the mouth of the James-river, and through Hampton Roads, we reached Old Point Comfort about half-past eleven, the distance being sixteen miles; and landing at a convenient wharf there, we repaired to the hotel near the beach.

As this is one of the largest and most important forts of the country, I had naturally supposed that there would be a governor, an officer of the guard, sentries at the gates, and the usual military rules by which such places are regulated ; and being anxious to conform to these, I directed my inquiries accordingly. I was surprised to learn, however, that I should find neither sentries, guards, nor officers of any kind, as there were no troops in the fort, its only occupants being a few artificers, and that, therefore, we might walk through every part of it at our leisure.

The Fort is advantageously placed on a projecting point of land, at the confluence of the James-river with the Chesapeake, lying east of the former and west of the latter, and guarding the entrance to the anchorage called Hampton Roads, which must be passed through by all ships approaching Richmond or Norfolk from the sea. The area covered by the fort requires a circuit of about a mile to compass it, as you walk round the ramparts. The walls, the salient angles, and the batteries, are constructed of solid stone, and are of excellent workmanship. A regular ditch surrounds the outer wall, and is filled with water. In the interior of the fort are the usual arrangements of barracks for the troops, officers' quarters, spacious parade ground, forges, armory, ordnance depôt, magazine, and workshops of every kind.

The works were commenced about eighteen years ago, and are not yet quite completed. It is intended to mount 400 pieces of cannon here ; and it would require, to garrison the place completely, 4,000 men ; but at present there are not more than 20 guns mounted,

though there are many more in the fort. Of soldiers now here there are literally none, the only persons, these being the artificers, of whom we saw about fifty in the different workshops, making gun-carriages, and other requisites for the completion of the establishment. The cause of the entire absence of troops, as we were told by the superintendent of the works, was the constant drain of men from all the forts of the country for the Florida war, where the rifles and arrows of the Indians, and the swamps and marshes of the ever-glades, carry off more victims annually, than any war in which the United States has ever been engaged. Yet though every fort in the country is now weakened by drafts of men to go to Florida, and some of the forts, like this, are entirely stripped of their occupants, the Indian war seems, in the opinion of most persons, to be as far from its termination as ever.

Opposite to this fort, at a distance of less than a mile to the south, and almost in mid-channel of the entrance from the sea, stands an artificial island, made after the same process as that of the Breakwater at Plymouth in England. There existed there a bar, or shoal, called the Rip-Raps, with only fourteen feet water on it at high-tide, and being covered even at low-water, it proved a dangerous impediment to navigation. It was therefore determined to effect the double object of first covering the shoal with a mass of large stones, heaped on it, so as to rise above the water's edge, and thus present a visible object to ships sailing by it; and, secondly, to make this the basis of a fort, to strengthen the defences of the entrance. The only deep channel lies between Old

Point Comfort and the Rip-Raps, and as it is not more than a mile wide, all vessels passing in or out must go within half a mile at least of these forts, and be within pointblank range of their guns. The first of these objects is already accomplished, as the sandy shoal has been converted into an island of rocks rising at least twenty feet above high-water ; but the second object, of strongly fortifying it, remains yet to be achieved. The only difficulty in the way of this, is the appropriation of the necessary funds ; but this the Government is for the present unwilling to grant. The two works, at Old Point Comfort and the Rip-Raps have already cost about a million and half of dollars, and it would require perhaps another half million to make them complete. But instead of new appropriations for naval and military works, the Government is at this moment curtailing even the current and usual allowances.

During our short stay at Norfolk, no less than 400 workmen were discharged from the Navy Yard, and the works on which they were engaged were suspended, because the supplies of money were stopped from the Treasury. The number of the public defaulters, and the amount of their deficiencies to the Government, is urged as one reason for this straitened economy ; and certainly the official list that has been published of them, though thought to be far from complete, is a very fearful one, showing great want of common honesty among the public officers, and great want of vigilance and supervision in the heads of the public departments. As a matter of historical interest, the document may be here inserted—

Names of Defaulters.	Residence.	Amount of defalcation	Names of Defaulters.	Residence.	Amount of defalcation
		dollars.			dollars.
S. Swartwout . . .	New York . . .	1,225,705	W. P. Harris . . .	Columbus . . .	109,178
W. M. Price . . .	..	75,000	Wm. Taylor . . .	Cahawba . . .	23,116
A. S. Thurston . .	Key West . . .	2,822	U. G. Mitchell . .	..	54,626
Geo. W. Owen . .	Mobile . . .	11,173	J. W. Stevenson .	Galena . . .	43,294
I. T. Canby . . .	Crawfordville .	39,013	L. Hawkins . . .	Helena . . .	100,000
A. McCarty . . .	Indianapolis . .	1,388	S. W. Beall . . .	Green Bay . . .	10,620
W. L. D. Ewing .	Vandalia . . .	16,754	Jos. Friend . . .	Washita . . .	2,551
John Hays . . .	Jackson . . .	1,386	Wm. H. Allan . .	St. Augustine .	1,997
W. M. Green . . .	Palmyra . . .	2,312	G. D. Boyd . . .	Columbus . . .	50,937
B. S. Chambers .	Little Rock . .	2,142	R. H. Sterling . .	Cochuma . . .	10,733
D. L. Tod . . .	Opelousas . . .	27,230	P. Childers . . .	Greensbury . .	12,449
B. R. Rogers . . .	..	6,624	Wm. Linn . . .	Vandalia . . .	55,962
M. Cannon . . .	New Orleans . .	1,259	S. T. Scott . . .	Jackson . . .	12,550
A. W. M'Daniel .	Washington . .	6,000	J. L. Daniel . . .	Opelousas . . .	7,280
John H. Owen . .	St. Stephen's .	30,611	J. T. Pollock . .	Crawfordville .	14,891
G. B. Crutcher .	Choctaw . . .	6,061	M. Neville . . .	Cincinnati . .	13,781
G. B. Dameron . .	..	39,059	M. J. Allen . . .	Tallahassee . .	26,691
S. W. Dickson . .	..	12,229	B. T. Brown . . .	Springfield . .	3,600

Additions are said to have been discovered since this Official List was published, which make the amount of the whole deficiency, nearly three millions of dollars !

After our examination of the Fort, we dined at the hotel, where many persons had come down from Norfolk for the sole purpose of enjoying a fish-dinner, as Her Majesty's ministers in England have Cabinet parties to Greenwich, to eat white-bait. The two principal fish esteemed here, are the hog-fish, and the sheep's-head. The first is a small fish, six or eight inches long, two or three inches deep, and an inch in thickness, in shape and taste resembling the trout. The name of hog-fish is given to it, because of the grunting noise which it is alleged to make when taken out of the water. The second is much larger, being eighteen inches long, eight inches deep, and two inches in thickness. It is like the bream of the English channel in shape, but grey and speckled in colour, with large round transparent scales ; in substance and flavour it equals the turbot,

and is superior to the cod. Oysters, of large size and excellent quality, are found all along the coast, and up the shores of the bay ; so that the lover of marine food may here enjoy this luxury in great abundance and at a cheap rate.

During our stay at Norfolk, we attended the Episcopal and the Presbyterian churches ; and observed the usual characteristics of American places of worship in each. The churches are neater in all their interior arrangements, better fitted and furnished, and far more comfortable, than the average condition of churches in England. All the aisles, as well as the pews, are carpeted as perfectly as any drawing-room ; the cushions, footstools, and every other auxiliary of comfort and ease, are in perfect repair ; the books nicely bound, and in the best condition ; while ample means exist for warming the interior in winter, and cooling it in summer. The music and singing is much superior to ours in general ; and the ear is never offended by those discordant sounds which are so often heard in the country churches and small dissenting chapels of England ; while the quiet decorum, deep attention, and almost universal practice of kneeling during the periods of prayer, certainly give an impression of more devout feeling, than the variety and carelessness of the attitudes too often observed in the English churches. There is another feature of our places of worship which is not seen here ; I mean, the number of poor persons for whom there are no pews provided, and who, by their dress and general appearance, remind you that they are the children of want—in the midst of the luxuries and superfluities of a land of opulence

and plenty. No such class is seen in American churches ; and from the general aspect of the congregation, you can hardly fail to be convinced that want of food, raiment, or comfortable dwellings, is unknown among them ; and that competency and comfort is the lot of nearly all. It is true that there is one blot, which, in every American church that I have yet visited, I could wish to see removed ; and that is, the practice of appropriating the side galleries exclusively to the use of the coloured people ; the central gallery being occupied by the organ and the choir. But it should not be forgotten, that while colour is the ground of separation from the rest of the congregation here, poverty is in England as frequent a ground of separation also ; for while the rich and the middle classes have their comfortable cushioned pews with lock and key, for their sole use, the poor have wooden benches marked “free seats,” assigned to them in the cold stone-paved aisles, and are as much separated by their poverty from their richer fellow-sinners, as the coloured people are in America from their white brethren. For my own part, I think these distinctions equally inconsistent with the Christian maxim, that “in the sight of God, all his creatures are equal ;” and that the open and unappropriated seats of the Catholic cathedral, the Methodist conventicle, and the Quaker’s meeting-house—like the unpewed equality of the Mohammedan mosque—are all preferable ; for if there be one place on earth in which, more than in another, man ought to be made to feel humility, and be taught to regard his brother as his equal, being children of one great Father, who is equally the

Creator and Preserver of all, it is a place of public worship, where "all that dwell upon the face of the earth" are equally invited to "come into the presence" of Him who is so truly designated as—

"Father of all! in every age,
In every clime adored,
By saint, by savage, and by sage,
Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!"

and where, if any distinctions were observed, and the example and precepts of Jesus of Nazareth, were to be made the rule of guidance, "the poor and needy" ought have especial preference; for to them are the consolations of religion most necessary.

The transition from this subject, to that of the condition of the slaves here, is not so unnatural as it might at first seem. It is impossible, indeed, to think of religion, without being reminded, by the association of contrast, of the utter irreconcilability of slavery with the benevolence, purity, and equality of the Christian scheme of redemption. In justice to the Virginians generally, I must say, that among all the well-informed classes with whom we have mingled, and in Norfolk as much as anywhere, there is little or no hesitation on their part, in admitting slavery to be a double evil, equally injurious to the best interests of master and slave, and the chief, if not the only cause of the backwardness of this noble State, in the general career of improvement; while all speak of the slave-trade with horror, and express a desire to see it made piracy by all nations, and treated accordingly.

A recent occurrence has brought out the more free expression of public sentiment upon this subject

than usual. A Spanish planter went up from his estate in Cuba to the port of Havannah, to purchase goods and slaves. This he effected, and was proceeding homeward by sea in a vessel containing a valuable cargo, and fifty slaves purchased by him out of a slave-trader just arrived from Africa. On their voyage, the slaves sought an opportunity to regain their liberty, rose on their white oppressors, who were carrying them into forced captivity, and murdered all but three :—their purchaser or master, an old sea-captain, and a cabin-boy. The first they kept, with intention to set him at liberty ; the second they retained, to navigate the vessel ; and the third they spared, because of his youth and innocence. When they thus obtained the mastery of the vessel, they made the captain steer always towards the rising sun, as they knew that to be the direction of the land of their home, from whence they had been torn ; but when night came on, or when it was cloudy, the captain contrived, by imperceptible degrees, to veer the vessel's head round to the west by compass, of which the Africans knew nothing, always managing, however, about daylight to bring her head again round to the place of the sun's rising ; so that by this method, whatever progress they made eastward during the day, they retraced back again to the westward during night. Thus, for the amazingly long period of sixty-three days, they continued going to and fro, without falling in with any ship to board them ; the hope of meeting with which, was the chief inducement for the captain's steering her backward every night, and edging also constantly to the northward. At length, by the force of the Gulf

Stream, contrary winds, and counter-courses, she was driven on the coast of America, and after being seen and reported by different vessels as a very suspicious craft, she was captured by a Government Surveying vessel, the *Washington*, Captain Gedney, and taken in as prize to the port of New London, in Connecticut. The negroes were all apprehended, and confined in jail for trial.

This event gave rise to very opposite opinions, maintained by opposite parties. The Abolitionists contended that the slaves did only what was perfectly justifiable, in endeavouring to regain their liberty, even at the sacrifice of the lives of those who unjustly held them in bondage ; and that as the crew of any American ship, captured in war, would be called heroes, if they rose on their English captors, massacred them, retook the vessel and regained their liberty, so was it commendable in these African negroes to do the same ; they, therefore, considered them to be entitled to sympathy and support, rather than to punishment. The apologists of Slavery, contended, on the other hand, that the Africans, being lawfully purchased at Havannah, were the lawful property of their white masters ; that the crime of rising against them, and killing them, to regain their liberty, was mutiny, piracy, and murder, and should be dealt with as such. In Norfolk, opinions seemed pretty nearly equally divided ; though the actual Slaveholders, of which there are many here, were very tender and sensitive on the subject, and thought it best not to make it too much a matter of public discussion, lest it should become too familiar to their own slaves.

All, however, tried, if possible, to draw a clear distinction between slavery and the slave-trade ; and many, who saw nothing wrong in the former, affected to be greatly shocked at the latter. This, however, is to be understood with some limitation. The slave-trade at which they express so much horror, is that which consists in taking the Africans from their native country, and carrying them to the West Indies and South America for sale ; though it is known that large numbers are smuggled into the United States from Havannah, and through Texas ; and though it is certain, also, that were it not for slavery in this country and others, there would be no slave-trade, as the demand creates the supply. But to the slave-trade, which consists in buying up the African negroes of the central States, such as Maryland and Virginia, and selling them to slave-dealers from the South, to be taken to Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas, no such indignation is expressed.

This is practised largely here at Norfolk, without censure or reproach. In sight of French's hotel, in which we resided, and so near as to enable us to hear their occasional shoutings and cries, is a slave-depôt, in which the slave-dealers of the town, collect and confine such slaves as they can pick up by purchase, till they have got a gang sufficiently large to transport them to the South and the West. Here they are kept, with as little food and clothing as is compatible with bare existence : for, regarding them as articles of traffic, they spend no more upon them than will suffice to keep them alive, and in travelling condition. They send them off as speedily as practicable, in travelling gangs to the South, each party being attended

with a competent number of drivers, who ride on horseback, with large whips, while the negroes, men, women, and children, all travel on foot, the more refractory or suspicious being chained to each other, and the more weary kept in their line of march by the whip, if they fall behind. In the purchases of slaves, made for the purpose of forming these gangs for the Southern market, husband is separated from wife, and children from parents, without the slightest compunction, and the whole process is brutal in the extreme.

If any of these unhappy beings were to revolt, and endeavour to regain their liberty, they would be shot dead on the spot, or reserved for more ignominious punishment; and yet, if white American prisoners, taken in war, were to break from an English prison, murder their jailors, and escape in safety to their liberty and friends, they would be honoured and applauded throughout the land! The Americans complain, and justly, of the detestable practice of impressment of seamen for the British navy; but they pursue an equally unjust course towards the African race in their own country, and affect to see nothing wrong in it; so completely does pecuniary interest and national prejudice, added to the force of custom, reconcile men to the worst abominations.

Here, as everywhere else in the South, the negroes are all obliged to be in their houses at a given hour, eight in the winter and nine in the summer; and a warning bell is rung every night at those periods. Should any person of colour be found in the streets after this time, by the night-watch, they are taken to prison, and there kept for the night, and then

discharged. For the second offence, however, they are whipped, as well as imprisoned, unless their masters will pay a fine of a dollar to save them from its infliction, which is not often done.

The society of Norfolk is characterized by more of leisure, frankness, refinement of manners, and less of nationality, than that of the Northern cities. The number of persons in easy circumstances, living on fixed incomes, arising from landed property rather than trade, is considerable. The public officers of the government, attached to the naval and military department, are also numerous, and the professions of the law, medicine, and the church, furnish their full proportion ; while the merchants and traders are not so entirely engrossed with the accumulation of money, as to have no time for other thoughts. The tone of conversation among the men is, therefore, more elevated, and their manners more gentlemanly, than those of the mercantile society generally of the North. Among the ladies, we saw many very beautiful women, and exquisitely lovely youths ; and while the same superiority of manners is observable in the females as in the males—arising no doubt from the same causes—the lives they lead are less hurried and excited, either by business or pleasure, than in the North, and there is more leisure for cultivation and polish. As there are few large fortunes rapidly acquired here, there is no absurd competition for display, or straining everything to the utmost in dress and parties, to outrival each other. Society not being cut up into sets, and castes, and circles, as in Boston and New York, there is no jealousy about particular grades, or coldness with some and cor-

diality with others. All appear to feel themselves sufficiently on a footing of social equality, to be frank, open, cheerful, and unaffected in their behaviour and intercourse with each other. Norfolk, I should think, resembles much more the old Colonial state of society, in feelings and manners, than any place in the North, and may fairly rank with Charleston and Savannah, which resemble it in this respect.

In the neighbourhood of Norfolk, and lying south of it and Portsmouth, at a distance of eight miles, is an extensive marsh, called by the forbidding name of The Dismal Swamp, a name, however, rendered familiar to English readers, by the beautiful ballad of Thomas Moore, written during his visit to Norfolk, some forty years ago, and published among his earliest Odes and Epistles, from Bermuda and America. The principal trees that are found in this swamp are cypress and juniper; these grow in the parts that are muddiest, and where the decayed vegetation and water are the deepest. The greater part of the swamp is covered, however, with impenetrable thickets of reeds, grass, and bushes; and here and there, on the drier spots, are to be found a few oaks, pines, and gum trees. At the northern extremity of this swamp is a small village, called Deep Creek, made and sustained wholly by the trade carried on across the Swamp by means of a canal. This has recently been carried across it, and by it a constant intercourse is now maintained between Norfolk and Wilmington, in North Carolina; and goods and passengers are transported, by this route, from Baltimore and Richmond to Charleston and Savannah.

The soft and yielding mass of decayed vegetable matter, with which this Dismal Swamp is chiefly covered, is called by the people living near it, Sponge, and it is sometimes found to be as much as twenty feet deep. In it and beneath it are found large quantities of old juniper-trees, deeply imbedded, with newer or more recent trees of the same species growing over them; and the wood of both is found to be equally fresh and good for the shingles made of them. On the borders of Deep Creek is a salt marsh, where large solid pine trees have been found still erect under water, which is the more remarkable as the pine does not grow generally in salt marshes, but delights in a dry and sandy soil. It is said that in Albemarle Sound, further south, many trees of the same kind are found below the present level of the ocean.

It is said that during the war of the Revolution, a French vessel, assisting the cause of the Americans, was pursued into this creek by an English ship of war; and the action proving the superior skill or force of the assailant, the French crew determined to sink their vessel and abandon her. Before they did this, however, they collected all the specie in their ship, and charged one of their guns with it, which they then threw overboard, to prevent its falling into the hands of the English. A large portion of the wreck of the French vessel remains, to impede the navigation of the creek, and thus to confirm the main fact of the history; but though many attempts have been made to recover the lost cannon with its charge of specie, they have hitherto been without success.

CHAP. XXIII.

History of Virginia—Voyage projected by Sir Walter Raleigh in Elizabeth's reign—First settlement near Roanoke—Country called Virginia by desire of Elizabeth—First introduction of tobacco—Raleigh and the Queen smokers—The potato first brought from America—Grant of James I. for Christianizing Virginia—Voyage of Captain Smith—Settlement of James Town—Capture of Smith by the Indians—Sentenced to death—Reprieve obtained by the influence of the Mariner's compass—Smith condemned a second time to death by Powhatan—Romantic interference to save his life by the princess Pocahontas—History of the Indian heroine, Pocahontas—Presentation at the English court—Her death in England—Interment at Gravesend.

HAVING now traversed the greater part of the noble State of Virginia, and examined the Old Dominion through the length and breadth of the land, it may be useful to cast a retrospective glance over the rise and progress of this earliest portion of the British colonies on this extensive continent, before giving a general view of its present extent in area, productions, resources, wealth, and population.

It was by the enterprise of the Venetian navigator, Sebastian Cabot, under the patronage of Henry the Seventh of England, that the continent of North America was first discovered—the voyage of Columbus, a few years before, having brought him acquainted only with the islands of the West Indies. This was in 1498, the year in which the first British ship that ever reached the coast of this continent, sailed from Bristol; and it is remarkable, that the first vessel sent to navigate to this country

across the Atlantic by steam, the Great Western, 340 years afterwards, should sail from the same port of Bristol, leaving both London and Liverpool in the rear. It has been remarked by Grahame, in his excellent History, that in the first expeditions of navigators from Europe to the New World, the enterprising men who conducted them were all foreigners to the States deriving the honour and benefit of their discoveries. Columbus, a Genoese, sailed for the crown of Spain ; Cabot, a Venetian, for the crown of England ; and Verazzan, a Florentine, for the crown of France.

It was not, however, till the reign of Elizabeth, nearly a century after Cabot's discovery, or in 1578, that any attempt was made by the English to form a permanent settlement on this coast ; and the person who first projected such settlement was the illustrious navigator, Sir Walter Raleigh, who obtained for his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a patent from the queen, authorizing him to explore and occupy, or appropriate, all barbarous lands which he might find unoccupied by Christian powers, and hold them as fiefs of the crown, on condition of his paying, as revenue, one-fifth of all gold and silver found therein. It empowered Gilbert to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction over those who might accompany him, and made the term of the patent six years, prohibiting all persons, during that time, from occupying any land within 200 leagues of any spot discovered and appropriated by him.

Such was the beginning of the British attempts to settle on this continent : but the first voyage was unsuccessful ; the ships sailing too far to the north,

were wrecked near Cape Breton, and Gilbert himself was drowned. Raleigh, who did not accompany this first expedition, soon projected another; and having now the patent, previously bestowed on Gilbert, transferred to himself by the queen, with whom he was a personal favourite, he despatched two small vessels, commanded by Amadas and Barlow, who made the coast farther south, and first anchored in Roanoak bay, now a part of North Carolina. Their first intercourse with the native Indians was characterized by courtesy and mildness, and no difficulties occurred between them; and when, on their return, they published an account of the fine climate and fertile soil of the country, the Queen was so pleased with the discovery, that she herself proposed to have the country called "Virginia," as at once in memorial of her virgin-reign, in which it was first visited, and also a public proclamation to the world of her intention to take it under her especial patronage and protection; though the Virginians, in after times, used to say it was so called "because it still seemed to retain the virgin purity and plenty of the first creation."

In 1585, the first actual Colony was formed by the landing of 108 workmen at Roanoak, brought out in seven ships, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville. They were left here under the command of Captain Lane, assisted by Amadas, one of the commanders on a former voyage, and Heriot, a mathematician and astronomer, who excited the admiration of the natives by his telescopes and other instruments; but unfortunately, the thirst for gold was so intense, that in pursuit of it they neglected all other

objects, consumed their provisions, quarrelled with the Indians, and were reduced to the last extremity, when Sir Francis Drake touched at the Colony from the West Indies, took them all on board, and conveyed them back to England.

It was by the remnant of this abortive Colony, that tobacco was first introduced into England. The plant was in great repute among the Indian tribes as medicine; and some of them believed it to be inhabited by one of those invisible spirits, which they supposed to dwell in all the powerful and remarkable products of Nature. Captain Lane and some of his associates had learnt the art of smoking it, and taught this to others; and Sir Walter Raleigh proved himself to be not only an adept pupil, but an excellent teacher; for it is stated, on the authority of the historian, Stith, that Queen Elizabeth herself had learnt the practice of smoking tobacco from Raleigh, and enjoyed it! The following anecdote is told by him of the Queen and her favourite. One day, as she was partaking this new indulgence, Sir Walter laid the Queen a wager that he could ascertain the weight of the smoke, which in a given time would be puffed out from the royal lips; and the Queen deeming this impossible, accepted the wager. When she first filled her pipe, Raleigh weighed the tobacco; and when she had finished it, he weighed the ashes that remained; and the difference he assumed as the weight of the smoke that had escaped. The Queen admitted that he had won the wager; but added, "that she thought he was the only alchymist who had ever yet transmuted smoke into gold."

The next expedition was sent out in 1587, when

a charter of incorporation was given to Captain White and twelve assistants, to found the city of Raleigh in Virginia ; but the only issue of this voyage was some better acquaintance with the country and people, and the introduction, for the first time, of the potato root and plant into England—as great an accession of good to the European community, as the importation of tobacco has proved an evil.

This was the last of the expeditions despatched by Raleigh, who, becoming engrossed with other objects, connected with Ireland, Portugal, and Guiana, transferred his interest in the American settlement to a London Company of Merchants ; but these conducted their affairs so badly, that at the period of Queen Elizabeth's death, not a single Englishman was known to be anywhere settled in America ; and for a while all hopes of colonization in this quarter seemed to be extinct.

At length, in 1603, James the First ascended the English throne, and the voyages of Gosnold to the northern shores of Massachusetts having revived attention to Virginia, the King was induced to grant a patent to Sir Thomas Gates, Lord Somers, Richard Hakluyt, and others, authorizing them to take and hold all the lands lying between the 34th and 45th degrees of latitude, with all islands lying within 100 miles of the shore—including all the coast from Virginia up to Maine, embracing also all the new Western States, within this parallel, and comprehending, indeed, an area equal to four-fifths of the whole of the present Union. The object of granting this patent was no doubt to enrich the patentees and their friends, and extend the power and resources of the King.

But, as real motives are rarely avowed in political instruments, the pretence set forth in this case was a desire "to make habitation and plantation, and to deduce a Colony of sundry of our people into that part of America commonly called Virginia, that so noble a work may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his Divine Majesty, in the propagation of the Christian religion, to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages living in those parts, to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government."

The occupation of the territory was assigned to two separate companies; the southern portion being given to the London Company, including the coast from the Capes of Virginia to the present site of New York; and the northern portion, comprehending all beyond this, being assigned to the Plymouth and Bristol Company. They were authorized to transport as many English subjects as they saw fit, to their new settlements, to furnish them with arms and ammunition, and to guarantee them exemption from all custom-house dues for seven years, with a retention of all the rights and privileges they enjoyed in England.

The first body of colonists embarked by the London Company sailed from England in three small vessels, the largest of which did not exceed 100 tons; and in these were embarked, besides the crews, 105 men destined to remain in America. The command devolved on Captain Newport, and among his passengers were George Percy, brother of the

Earl of Northumberland, Gosnold the navigator, and the intrepid Captain John Smith. They sailed from England in December 1606, and did not reach the Chesapeake till April 1607, as long a period as is now taken to sail from London to China. They named the southern promontory of the Chesapeake, Cape Henry, in honour of the then Prince of Wales; and the northern, Cape Charles, after another of the King's sons; and sailing up the river, then called Powhatān, they were so impressed with its excellence as a stream, and the eligibility of its banks for a settlement, that they gave the river the name of their monarch, instead of that of the Indian chief or king, which it then bore, and founded their infant settlement about forty miles from its mouth, calling it also James-Town.

It is not intended to follow up the history of this settlement in detail, or narrate the romantic adventures of Captain John Smith, tempting as the subject is, but rather to trace the broad outlines of the rise and progress of Virginia generally. It will be sufficient, therefore, to state that Smith, by his superior talents, courage, and other qualities which fitted him admirably for the post of a leader, soon obtained that distinction by consent of his companions, though they were at first jealous of his abilities. He was of a respectable family in Lincolnshire, and born to a competent fortune, but had served in the army; and being of an enterprising disposition, had embarked in this adventure with great zeal. He speedily fortified James-Town; and by his kind conduct to such of the Indians, as were friendly, and his prompt retribution on those who were hostile, he

soon acquired a great reputation and influence. There is one romantic incident, however, so remarkable in the career of this truly great man, that it cannot with propriety be omitted.

In the course of an excursion, made for the purpose of surveying the interior of the country, he fell into the hands of a hostile tribe of Indians, but having resisted them by arms, though unsuccessfully, he was about, after his capture, to be put to death. With great presence of mind, he expressed a desire to speak to the sachem or chief, before his life was taken, which request was granted to him; and he then showed the astonished Indians a mariner's compass, of which he described the properties and use, and related how many new countries had been discovered by its instrumentality; as well as the form of the earth, its motion round its own axis, and its revolutions round the sun; the position of the antipodes, and the cause of summer and winter. To all, they, the Indians, listened with wonder and delight; and the fact that they could see the tremulations of the needle, while in every attempt to touch it, they found the hand arrested by the transparent glass, a substance they had never before seen, gave them an idea of its being something superhuman!

For a while, therefore, they remained in doubt and suspense, whether they should put their prisoner to death, or not; but, at length, their attachment to their old customs prevailing, he was bound to a stake, to be shot through with arrows, in the ordinary way. The chief, however, Opechancanough, had been more deeply impressed than his colleagues with the superiority of Smith above the com-

mon race of mortals ; and being either ashamed or afraid to put him to death, he held up the mariner's compass to his people, and ordered his reprieve; after which he was conducted, still as a prisoner, surrounded with guards, to a dwelling, and there hospitably entertained. The Indians then attempted to prevail on Smith to betray the English settlement into their hands ; but his virtue remaining firm amidst all his dangers, his case was referred to the Indian king, Powhatān, before whom he was led with much ceremony ; but here, after a sumptuous repast, according to their rude fashion, had been set before him, he was adjudged by Powhatān to be put to death ; and the mode determined on was, to beat out his brains by their war-clubs, while his head was laid on a stone. At this fearful crisis, the Angel of Mercy again overshadowed him with her wings ; for the favourite, and, from all contemporary accounts, superior-minded daughter of the king, Pocahontas, ventured to intercede with her father for his life ; but her entreaties failing to soften their stern and cruel purpose, she threw her arms around the body of the victim, and standing between him and his executioners, declared her determination either to save him, or to perish in the attempt ! The Indians, who have a great admiration for courage and heroism in either sex, spared their captive for Pocahontas' sake ; and he was not only released, but sent back in safety to James-Town, where his beneficent deliverer sent to him those supplies of provisions, of which the little Colony stood so much in need.

Soon after this, a reinforcement of 120 men from England, with provisions, seeds, and implements of

husbandry, arrived, to join the settlement; but among them were so few labourers, and so many gentlemen, and jewellers, and refiners of gold, all adventurers in search of the precious metal, which they hoped to find as abundant here as in Mexico or Peru, that they were of little value; and the discovery of a shining sandy sediment, found in the James-river waters, fostered their delusion, and indisposed every one to agriculture or the industrial arts. A cargo of this sand, or dust, which was ultimately proved to be of no value, with some cedar-wood from the neighbouring forests, formed the first cargo ever sent from Virginia to England; and in return, by the same ships, were sent out a supply of various officers, as if the little Colony were to become at once a great kingdom, among which were admirals, recorders, judges, and chronologers! for whom there was no suitable employment.

In the mean while, Smith undertook to explore the Bay of the Chesapeake,—whose Indian name, “The Mother of Waters,” is beautifully expressive of the number of rivers that are poured into its bosom,—and passing up the York, the Rappahannock, the Potomac, and even the Susquehannah, he surveyed a great extent of country, and made a map of the whole, so minutely accurate, that all authorities admit it to have required scarcely any alteration or improvement, except by the addition of such places as have been subsequently visited, but were not then known.

On the return of Smith to the Colony, he found it in a wretched condition; but being elected president of the council, by the settlers, whose confidence in

him was unbounded, he soon succeeded, by the admirable talents which he possessed for government, in restoring plenty, order, industry, and content, in the midst of difficulties which would have broken the spirits and destroyed the faculties of any ordinary man. A strong sense of religion pervaded his character, and governed his conduct throughout; and it was remarked of him, as it had before been said of Columbus, that though accustomed to naval and military life, and surrounded by dissolute and licentious men, he had never been known to utter an oath.

The directors of the Virginia Company at home, however, not realizing those absurd dreams of golden treasures, which they expected to receive by every ship from hence, formed themselves into a new association, by the title of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London, for the first Colony in Virginia," and obtaining new associates among persons of high rank and wealth, and being incorporated by a new charter, they sent out, in 1609, a squadron of nine ships and 500 emigrants. In one of these was Lord Delaware, the new governor and captain-general of the Colony, with Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Simons, all entrusted with large and co-equal powers. This ship, containing the chief functionaries, was wrecked on the island of Bermuda, but the remainder of the squadron reached James-Town in safety. Among the emigrants, however, were so few men of industrious habits, and so many of indolent and profligate character, broken-down gentlemen, insolvent traders, licentious youths, and corrupt and hoary villains, that their influx was

the greatest curse to the infant settlement, and threw everything into confusion.

Smith, however, again assumed the command, and was proceeding with those vigorous measures necessary for the order and peace of the Colony, when an unfortunate accident occurred, which nearly deprived him of his life. A bag of gunpowder, which he carried with him for his ammunition, exploded while he was asleep, and “tore the flesh from his body and thighs in a horrible manner.” The pain was so acute, that he threw himself into the river to cool the burning sensation, and was near drowning before he could be recovered: yet he had to go nearly a hundred miles in this situation, before he could reach a surgeon, or have any soothing application applied to his wound. In the midst of all this suffering, he had the additional mortification to find, on his reaching James-Town, an attempt to usurp his authority, and a plot to destroy his life. But his energies never failed him, and he defeated both, by his courage and promptitude.

At length, however, the pain of his wound depriving him sometimes of his reason, and no surgical skill in the Colony being sufficient to effect his cure, he resolved to go to England, and resigned his Presidency to Mr. Percy. The testimony paid to his virtues by those who were the companions of his misfortunes, is couched in this emphatic language—“What shall we say of him, but this:—that in all his proceedings made justice his first guide, and experience his second—ever hating baseness, sloth, pride, and indignity, more than any danger;—that never allowed more for himself than his soldiers with

him;—that upon no danger would send them, where he would not lead them himself;—that would never see us want what he either had, or could by any means get us;—that would rather want than borrow, or starve than not pay;—that loved action more than words, and hated falsehood and covetousness worse than death.”

The interesting heroine, Pocahontas, it appears, never came to James-Town after Smith's departure, but she was subsequently entrapped by treachery into the hands of an English captain, named Argal, and kept on board his ship as a hostage, to prevent the hostility of her father Powhatān. This was in 1611, and after a series of negotiations for her ransom, she had in the interim formed an attachment to a young Englishman, named John Rolfe, with whom, by consent of her father and brothers, as well as of the governor of the settlement at James-Town, Sir Thomas Dale, she was legally united in marriage, in April, 1613, according to the English form.

The remainder of her short history is as romantic as its commencement. When Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, the young Pocahontas accompanied her husband to his native land, and arrived at Plymouth in June 1616. Being a king's daughter, she was called The Lady Rebecca, was introduced at court by Lord and Lady Delaware, and treated with the greatest distinction. Captain Smith, whose life she had saved, having recovered from his wound, was still living, and the meeting of Pocahontas with her former friend was remarkable. She called him her Father; which Smith, under a notion that it might be thought arrogant in him to permit

himself to be called by so endearing a title by a King's daughter, requested her not to do ; and Pocahontas, not being able to comprehend the meaning of this scruple, was at first unhappy at what she interpreted as coldness. Her address to him, which is preserved, is full of the naïveté and frankness of her noble character.

"You promised my father," said Pocahontas, "that what was yours should be his : and that you and he would be all as one. Being a stranger in our country, you called Powhatan 'Father ;' and I, for the same reason, will call you so. You were not afraid to come into my father's country, and strike fear into every body but myself ; and are you here afraid to let me call you 'Father ?' I tell you, then, I will call you 'Father,' and you shall call me 'Child ;' and so I will for ever be of your kindred and country. They always told us that you were dead, and I knew not otherwise till I came to Plymouth. But Powhatan commanded Tomocomo to seek you out, and know the truth, because your countrymen are much given to lying."*

In 1617, she was about to embark for her native country, but was taken ill at Gravesend, and there died, at the early age of twenty-two years. There is neither grave nor tablet, I believe, now remaining to mark the spot where her remains were deposited ; but her blood nevertheless continues to flow in the veins of some existing American families, who are very proud of their descent. She left a son, then of course very young, named Thomas Rolfe, who was educated by his uncle in London, but afterwards came to America, where he acquired an ample fortune ; he left an only daughter, who was married to Colonel Bolling, and left an only son ; but the son had several daughters, and one of these marrying Colonel

* Drake's Book of the Indians, 8vo. b. iv. 18.

Randolph, gave birth to the celebrated Virginian senator, John Randolph of Roanoke, who, with all the other Randolphs of Virginia, was as proud of his ancestry, as any peer of England who could trace his descent from some Norman baron brought over in the train of William the Conqueror.

The pride of ancestry, from an Indian stock, is much stronger in the few Americans who have so descended, than it appears to be in any possessing unmixed European blood, as far as my opportunities have brought me acquainted with either. This is the more remarkable, when it is contrasted with the cruel treatment which the Indians have generally received from the American nation and people; and still more remarkable when we consider that there is nothing so repulsive to American feeling, as an intermarriage with persons having the least taint of colour from an African stock. The celebrated Dr. Hawkes, one of the leading Episcopal clergymen of New York, who would have shrunk with horror at the imputation of having any "coloured blood" of the *black* race mingled with his own, expressed his pride of ancestry, and descent from the *red* race, by boasting that some of the blood of Pocahontas flowed in his veins.*

* See "America." First Series. Vol. i. p. 92.

CHAP. XXIV.

First representative assembly at James Town—First introduction of Negro Slavery into the Colony—First supply of English wives sent out to the Colony—Paid for in tobacco—First provision for the education of Colonial offspring—Cromwell's Commonwealth—Navigation Laws—Contrast between New England and Virginia—Sir William Berkeley—Destruction of James Town—Profligacy of Lord Effingham—Earl of Orkney—Queen Anne—First theatre, printing-press, and newspaper—First appearance of George Washington in public life—Disputes with the mother-country on the right of taxation—Revolution, 1765—Virginian orator, Patrick Henry—Declaration of Rights—Lord Dunmore—Accomplishment of Independence by the American Colonies—Progress of the State of Virginia since that period.

AFTER Smith had quitted the Colony at James Town, in 1609, a series of disasters occurred, which led to its ultimate abandonment; but Lord Delaware and his companions, who, though wrecked on the island of Bermuda, were not lost, having procured another ship, and added two others to their squadron, came, in 1610, with supplies of men, provisions, and implements; and meeting the fugitives at the mouth of the James-river on their way out to sea, they arrested their progress, and restored the settlement to a habitable condition. But neither his administration, nor those of his successors, did much for the Colony until 1613, when the right of private property in lands being admitted, instead of the sole proprietorship of the incorporated Company in England, which had hitherto preceded it, a new stimulus to industry was given, and the Colony began to improve. The atten-

tion of the cultivators was first directed to what they deemed the most profitable and immediate return ; and this was not provisions for subsistence, but tobacco for sale ; for the use of this vile weed had so extended itself in Europe, and especially in England, that the demand for it was excessive ; and to supply this demand, the whole of the surrounding lands, as well as the public squares, and even the public streets of James Town, were planted with it in 1615 : while, to obtain the supplies of provisions which they had neglected to raise for their own consumption, the planters made reprisals on the natives, and thus provoked their hostility ; so that there was a constant succession of difficulties.

It was in 1619, that the first foundation of Virginian liberty was laid, by the introduction, under the administration of Sir John Yeardly, of a representative assembly, which was convened at James-Town, and was composed of the burgesses elected by the settlers, who met the governor and his council, in the same apartment, and there discussed together, in great harmony, the first acts of an American legislature, which were subsequently sent home, and received the sanction of the authorities there. It was further agreed by the respective parties, that no laws passed in the Colony should be in full force until ratified at home, and no orders or enactments made in England should have the force of law in the Colony till they were ratified by the assembly there. " Thus early," says Grahame, " was planted in America, that representative system, which forms the soundest political frame wherein the spirit of liberty was ever embodied, and at once the safest and most efficient organ by

which its energies are exercised and developed. So strongly imbued were the minds of Englishmen in this age with those generous principles which were rapidly advancing to a first manhood in their native country, that wherever they settled themselves, the institutions of freedom took root and grew up along with them.*

In the same year, however—so closely are good and evil blended in the mingled web of life—the fatal seeds were sown of that, which constitutes at once the greatest blot on the reputation, and the greatest hinderance to the safety and prosperity, of America: namely, Negro Slavery. A Dutch ship, from the coast of Guinea, arrived in James-river, with a cargo of negro slaves. These were sold to the English planters for the cultivation of their lands; and found to be so much more steady, obedient, industrious, and profitable, as labourers, than the idle and dissolute criminals, which had been sent out from the jails of England, as servants to the planters for limited terms, that the importation of slaves from Africa became a regular traffic. To England, therefore, belongs the disgrace of first originating the slave-trade, by Sir John Hawkins, in Elizabeth's reign; and to Englishmen, the disgrace of first employing them in Virginia in the reign of James. But let it be added—for justice demands the addition—that to America belongs the disgrace of retaining the African race in bondage, after England has broken their chains throughout all her extensive dominions; and this, when it would have been so safe, so easy, so consistent, and so honourable, for the first signers of the Declaration of

Independence, while freeing themselves from the tyranny of their other country, to have given freedom to the Africans in their own. It was thus they should have proved the sincerity with which they asserted their belief, that "all men were born free and equal ;" and that "to all belonged the inalienable right of life, liberty, and property," instead of "turning into a scene of bondage for others, that territory which had proved a seat of liberty and happiness to themselves."

In the year 1620, the difficulty seems first to have been publicly avowed, though perhaps long before felt, of attaching the men as permanent settlers to the colony, without an adequate supply of women, to furnish the comforts of domestic life ; and to overcome this difficulty, "a hundred young women, of agreeable persons and respectable characters," were selected in England, and sent out, at the expense of the Company, as wives for the settlers. They were very speedily appropriated by the young men of the Colony, who paid for the privilege of choice considerable sums as purchase money, which went to replenish the treasury of the Company, from whence the cost of their outfit and passage had been defrayed. This speculation proved so advantageous to that body, in a pecuniary sense, that it was soon followed up by sending out sixty more, for whom larger prices were paid than for the first consignment ; the amount paid on the average for the first 100 being 120 lbs. of tobacco, then valued at 3s. per lb. ; and for the second supply of 60, the average price paid was 150 lbs. of tobacco, this being the legal currency of the Colony, and the standard of value by which all contracts, salaries,

and prices were paid. This accession to the Colony was productive of the greatest advantage, as substituting the lawful and honourable enjoyments of marriage, and the holy and chaste feeling of connubial affection, for the lawless licentiousness, and dissolute and unbridled passion which preceded it ; and Burk, the historian of Virginia, says, that such was the careful attention bestowed on the moral characters of those who were sent out to become the matrons of Virginia, that in the year 1632, two young women, having been seduced on their passage from England, were sent back, by an order of the provisional council, as "unworthy to propagate the race of Virginians." Another excellent result followed this practice, of sending out from home those who were to become the mothers of the future colonists, which was the making some provision for the education of their offspring. For this purpose, a sum of money was collected by the bishops in their respective dioceses, by order of the King, for the education of the colonial children ; and the Company aiding this benevolent project, began the foundation of the first Colonial college, which was not completed till the reign of William and Mary, by whose name it was called, and which it retains, all royal as it is, to this day. So also do Cape Henry, Cape Charles, James-River, James-Town, Williamsburgh, York River, Norfolk, and Richmond, all of which are of royal origin, but all of which are still retained as "The Old Dominion" has always cherished her British origin with more pride, and still clings to its recollection with greater fondness, than any other State of the Union to the present day.

Disputes between the King and the Colonists, on the subject of the trade in tobacco, its import duties, &c., soon arose, and in 1621, were at their height, but were happily adjusted by a compromise; until, in the following year, a new source of grievance and of danger was disclosed. The native Indians, after the alliance formed by the marriage of the young princess, Pocahontas, with Rolfe, were anxious to promote more such unions between the English and their daughters. But the fairer daughters of the mother-country had lessened the necessity, and abated the inclination, of the Englishmen, to seek wives among the red tribes of the forest. This was deemed an insult or disdain by the Indians, who treasured up the affront for resentment at the fitting time; and they ultimately formed a conspiracy to cut off all the English, by a general massacre of man, woman, and child.

Powhatān, the father of Pocahontas, and their former friend, was no more; and his place and power, were held by Opekankanough. The plot being matured, on the 22nd of March, 1622, at "mid-day, the period they had fixed for this execrable deed, the Indians, raising a universal yell, rushed at once on the English, in all their scattered settlements, and butchered men, women, and children, with indiscriminating fury, and every aggravation of brutal outrage and enormous cruelty. In one hour 347 persons were cut off, without knowing almost by whose hands they fell." Six of the members of council, and several of the wealthiest and most respectable of the inhabitants were among the slain: at some of the settlements, the whole of their popu-

lation had been exterminated ; at others, a remnant had escaped the general destruction, by the efforts of despair ; and the survivors were impoverished, terrified, and confounded, by a stroke that at once bereaved them of friends and fortune, and showed that they were surrounded by legions of foes, whose enmity was equally furious and unaccountable, and whose treachery and ferocity seemed to proclaim them a race of fiends rather than men.

After this fearful catastrophe, the dissensions between the members of the Company at home, and their quarrels with the King, led him at length to take the bold step of dissolving the Company itself, by abrogating its charter ; and thus, in 1624, the possession of the Colony, and the direction of its government, was assumed by the crown. James soon after died, but his son, Charles the First, adopted all his father's views with respect to Virginia, and his arbitrary principles were acted upon to the full extent by the Governor, Sir John Harvey, who, from 1629 to 1635, exercised a continued series of insults, exactions, and oppressions on the colonists, till "he inflamed the wise with madness, and drove the patient to despair," when at length, he was suspended by the Colonial assembly, and sent home a prisoner to England, accompanied by deputies from their body to represent their grievances, and appealing to the justice of the King for redress. But this arbitrary monarch reinstated the suspended governor with additional powers, and these powers he soon used on his return, to retaliate on those who had the courage to oppose him.

In 1639, by the influence of the British parlia-

ment, to whom the Virginians had now appealed, Harvey was recalled ; and the upright and excellent Sir William Berkeley appointed in his stead, with power to restore to the colonists all the privileges they had enjoyed before the dissolution of the Company by the crown ; so that Charles the First was compelled to become the restorer of those Virginian liberties which he had been the first to violate. So grateful were the Virginians for this, that in all the contests between the King and the parliament at home, they espoused the royal cause, declaring, by an enactment, issued in the fervour of their loyalty, "that they were born under a monarchy, and would never degenerate from the condition of their births, by being subject to any other government," a resolution to which their posterity have not deemed it wise to adhere. Even after Charles was beheaded, and his son driven out of the kingdom, they conducted the Colonial government under a commission from the exiled royal family, dispatched to Sir William Berkeley from Breda, on the continent ; and would not acknowledge the authority of the republic, or commonwealth.

The long parliament, however, sent a squadron under Sir George Ayscue, to the Chesapeake, and the Virginians were obliged to yield, but not without stipulating for the retention of their own provisional assembly, and the privilege of perfect freedom of trade.

It was at this period, 1652, that the Navigation Laws were introduced, forbidding the importation of any productions of Asia, Africa, or America, in any but English vessels, navigated by English offi-

cers and crews; though the same principle was recognized as early as 1381, when an act of Richard the Second, enacted "that to increase the navy of England, no goods or merchandizes shall be either exported or imported but only in ships belonging to the king's subjects." Yet, as this was in some degree an infringement on the stipulated free trade of the Virginians, they had the monopoly of the growth of tobacco confirmed to them, by its cultivation being prohibited in Ireland, where large quantities had heretofore been grown. About this period Virginia became the place of refuge for immense numbers of destitute cavaliers, who, following the fortunes of their sovereign, had been forced into poverty and exile; and though this brought a large infusion of chivalrous sentiment, high breeding, and polished manners into the Colony—the traces of which are visible in the well-known spirit, frankness, and generosity of the old Virginia families at the present day—yet little or no industry, or useful and practical knowledge, accompanied their train, while, on the other hand, dissolute manners and intrigues were very general.

Cromwell's measures towards the Colony appear, from all authorities, to have been far more just and liberal than those of his predecessors: but with the previous attachments and pledges of the old settlers, and the opinions and feelings brought into the Colony by the new ones, it was natural that they should be averse to his usurped authority, and there was one feature of his administration which was peculiarly offensive to them—

"The Puritan colonists of New England," says Grahame, "had

always been the objects of suspicion and dislike to the great bulk of the inhabitants of Virginia : and the manifest partiality which Cromwell entertained for them, now increased the aversion with which they had been heretofore regarded. New England was generally considered by the Cavaliers, as the centre and focus of Puritan sentiment and republican principle ; and, actuated partly by religious and partly by political feelings, the Virginian Cavaliers entertained a violent antipathy against all the doctrines, sentiments, and practices that were reckoned peculiar to the Puritans, and rejected all communication of the knowledge that flourished in New England, from hatred of the authority under whose shelter it grew, and of the principles to whose support it seemed to administer."

The traces of this feeling are still strong among the descendants of these Cavaliers ; for in no State of the Union is the dislike to the Puritanical sentiments and cold and cautious manners of the people of the North, stronger than it is in Virginia ; where, I believe, there are fewer persons from New England settled, than there are in any State besides. The hereditary indifference to, and disregard of popular education for the mass of the community, which characterized the best men of those times, seems also to have travelled down, through Virginian veins, to the present day. Sir William Berkeley, one of the most justly popular of their governors, for his general integrity and highly honourable character, says, according to Chalmer's, in a letter written by him in the State of Virginia, soon after the Restoration—" I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years ; for learning has brought heresy, and disobedience, and sects into the world ; and printing has

divulged them, and libels against the best government—God keep us from both.”

In one respect, Sir William's prayer seems to have been realized ; for to this day, no system of Common Schools, such as exist in New England and many of the Western States, exists in Virginia ; though there are some free-schools for the education of indigent children spread over the State. But in this respect it is avowedly inferior to all the older States of the Union, and to many even of the new ones ; and a Virginian writer, Martin, in speaking of the capital of his own State, says, “ Whilst the Northern cities can boast their literary and scientific societies, the capital of “The Ancient Dominion,” scarcely contains one which deserves the name.” As to printing, and libels against the government, these have indeed increased to such a degree, that if Sir William Berkeley could be raised from the dead, and have a pile of the Virginian papers for a single week placed before him, his astonishment would know no bounds.

Under the influence of the sentiments by which Virginia was actuated at the period before spoken of (1653) and the continued increase of dissatisfaction with the doctrines and practices of the Puritans and republicans in New England as well as in Old, they availed themselves of the opportunity presented by the death of the Governor Matthews, before any steps were taken at home to name his successor, to raise the standard of revolt against Cromwell's power, and to proclaim Charles the Second as their lawful King. The more timid apprehended from this a long and disastrous conflict with the mother-country, and

ultimate subjugation to her superior power ; but in the midst of these fears, intelligence arrived of Cromwell's death, and soon after of Charles's Restoration ; "which," says the historian, "enabled the Virginians safely to exult in the singularity which they long and proudly commemorated, that they had been the last of the British subjects who had renounced, and the first who had resumed their allegiance to the crown."

Sir William Berkeley, who had been summoned by the colonists to take the reins of government from the moment they had raised the royal standard, received, after the restoration of Charles, a commission in 1660, confirming him in his power ; and some good and some bad laws characterized his administration. Among the first, was the restoration of the trial by jury ; among the last, was a law against the importation or harbouring of Quakers, under a penalty of 5,000 lbs of tobacco ! The Parliament of England, however, now chiefly legislated for the Colonies generally ; and some of its measures were deemed so injurious to their interest by the Virginians, particularly some of the new provisions of the Navigation Laws, that they first remonstrated, and finding that useless, plotted a revolt ; and though this was checked before it could be expected, in 1668, yet some years afterwards, in 1671, the popular discontent had reached its height ; and in 1675 two other plots of insurrection were discovered and crushed in the bud.

In the following year, however, the Colony broke out into open rebellion, under a bold and adventurous leader, named Bacon, who, at the head of the

insurgents, attacked James-Town and reduced it to ashes, permitting his followers to pillage the houses and plantations of the loyalists, and to carry off their persons as hostages ; in short, the whole Colony was involved in all the horrors of a civil war.

As soon as intelligence of this reached England, the King sent out an armament under Sir John Berry, declared Bacon a traitor, tendering free pardon to all who should forsake him, and freedom to all slaves who should assist in suppressing the revolt. Bacon was prepared to resist to the death, and his followers increased rather than diminished, as his popularity and influence were unbounded. Before the forces arrived, however, Bacon was seized with sickness, and died ; and, at the loss of their leader, the rebel army grew dispirited, and soon became disbanded and dispersed, to the great joy of the loyalists.

In 1677, when the expected succours arrived, the rebellion was entirely suppressed ; and Colonel Jeffreys, the new governor, succeeded to Sir William Berkeley, who was now grown old, having served through an administration of nearly forty years, soon after which he died, greatly and deservedly respected. Jeffrey's short career was marked by much of injustice and disaster, and that of his successor, Lord Culpepper, was arbitrary and vexatious in the extreme ; so that after the short space of five years, another insurrection occurred, in 1682. The details of this period are full of the grossest outrages and oppressions practised by the Colonial governors, and sanctioned by the Monarch ; and when, in 1683, Lord Effingham was appointed to govern the Colony, "the King expressly commanded him to suffer no

person within the Colony to make use of a printing-press, on any occasion or pretence whatsoever !”

At length, Charles the Second was succeeded by the Second James, in 1685, and the colonists then hoped the change would bring them some relief ; but instead of this, their burthens were augmented : while the conduct of Lord Effingham was worse than that of any of his predecessors. Grahame, on the authority of Beverley, Oldmixon, and Chalmers, says—“ Lord Effingham, like his predecessor, engrafted the baseness of a sordid disposition on the severity of an arbitrary and tyrannical administration. He refused to convoke the Provincial Assembly ; he instituted a Court of Chancery, in which he himself presided as judge ; and besides multiplying and enhancing the fees attached to his own peculiar functions, he condescended to share with clerks the meaner perquisites of subordinate offices. For some time he contrived to stifle the remonstrances which his extortions produced, by the infliction of arbitrary imprisonment and other tyrannical severities ; but at length, the public displeasure became so general and uncontrollable, that he found it impossible to prevent the complaints of the Colony from being carried to England ; for which country, he, in consequence, resolved to embark himself, in order to be present at his own arraignment.” But before he reached home, the Revolution of 1688 had hurled the greater tyrant of the mother-country from the throne ; so that the lesser tyrants found their safety in the general absorption of the public mind by changes nearer at hand. But William the Third, instead of dismissing Lord Effingham, continued

him in the commission as Governor, though he never dared to return to the Colony, but enjoyed the salary of his office at home, while a deputy performed his duties abroad; and when his death created a vacancy, it was filled by the royal appointment of another Colonial tyrant, Sir Edmund Andros, previously expelled by the indignant citizens of Massachusetts for his misdeeds there. Such have been the royal patrons, who took our early Colonies under their protection!

At this period, 1692, the whole population of Virginia did not exceed 50,000, of whom it was thought that fully one-half consisted of negro slaves. The only domestic tribute, or impost, was a poll-tax, paid by rich and poor alike; but this ensured the political right of suffrage to all who paid it, and therefore, placed both rich and poor on the footing of the most perfect political equality. The divisions of the settled part of the country embraced about 50 parishes, with 200,000 acres of appropriated land; and in each parish was a house and glebe for the minister, whose stipend was fixed by law at 16,000 pounds weight of tobacco, the presentations to the livings being made by the Governor, and the Bishop of London being the diocesan of the colony.

Some of the laws passed at this period were remarkable. Penal enactments were made against travelling on Sundays, against profane swearing, and getting drunk. Persons riotously assembling to the number of more than eight, for the purpose of destroying tobacco, were held to be guilty of treason! Every person, not being a servant or slave, if convicted of adultery, was fined 1,000 pounds of tobacco;

and if convicted of fornication, had to pay 500 pounds of the same commodity ; this being, in short, the legal currency of the country in lieu of money. Women convicted of slander were, by law, to be ducked in water, unless their husbands chose to save them from this punishment by the payment of a fine. There were then no inns in the country, but travellers were entertained at private houses ; the owners of these sometimes charging so exorbitantly for their hospitality, that a law was passed, declaring that unless the entertainer entered beforehand into a contract as to the rate at which he intended to charge his guest, it should be taken for granted that he intended to entertain him from pure hospitality, and without fee or reward !

If a slave were convicted of felony, and executed, his marketable value was paid to his owner out of the public treasury ; but the death of a slave from excessive punishment, at the hand of his master, or by his order, was not accounted felony ; as it could not be presumed, in the eye of the law, that any man really intended to destroy so valuable an article of his own property ! If any person, having Christian white servants indentured for a given period, married an infidel, or a negro, or a mulatto, or an Indian, all such indentured servants became immediately free ; and any free white person so marrying, as well as the minister celebrating the marriage, was punished with fine and imprisonment. Indians coming into the province were liable to be made slaves, and this was countenanced and upheld by the provisional statute-law of the Colony.

At this period, there was but little attention paid

to literature in Virginia. In this respect, New England took the lead of all the States south of her ; for while in Boston, about the year 1700, there were five printing-offices, and many book-stores, there was only one of the latter in New York, and not one in either Virginia, Maryland, or Carolina. The cheapness and abundance of land ensured to every one who would use only a moderate share of industry, an ample competence ; and so general was this condition, even among the humblest settlers, that it is stated by Beverley, one of the historians of the country about this time, that he had known the sum of 5*l.* left by a benevolent testator to the poor of the parish in which he lived, remain for nine years in the hands of the executors, before any poor person really in want of money could be found ; and at last it was given to one old woman, whose only claim to it was, that she had not quite so comfortable a competency as her neighbours !

In 1704, the government of Virginia was conferred by Queen Anne on the Earl of Orkney, who enjoyed all its emoluments for thirty-six years, without ever once leaving England even to *see* the country he was paid for governing ; so that he received in the whole 42,000*l.* of salary alone, besides patronage and emoluments, drawn from the pockets of a people whom he never even condescended to visit ! Such acts as these might well prepare the colonists for dissatisfaction with the mother-country. But during this period, events were happening in the Colony itself, calculated to hasten the period when its resources and its strength should enable it to sustain the great struggle by which it was to achieve its own

independence. Among these events was the exploration of the rich country beyond the Alleghanny or Apalachian mountains, which was undertaken in 1714, and crowned with complete success, opening to the view of the colonists, for the first time, immense tracts of beautiful and fertile lands, to be the future seat of wealth and population.

From this period onward, a general tranquillity and steadily increasing prosperity marked the history of Virginia. In 1722, the population was nearly double that of 1700; it having advanced, from 50,000 at the former period, to upwards of 100,000 at the latter; though these were still a mere handful, compared to the vast expanse of territory than comprehended within this single State. At Williamsburgh, which was then the capital, there existed the College of William and Mary, the State-house, and the Capitol. There was also a theatre, the first ever erected in the Colonies. Printing was first introduced here in 1729; and the first newspaper ever published in Virginia was issued at Williamsburgh, in 1736. The produce of tobacco was at this time considerable; not less than 100,000 hogsheads being shipped annually from Maryland and Virginia, valued at 8*l.* sterling per hogshead, which gave employment to about 200 ships, and produced a gain to the mother-country from this trade alone of about half a million sterling. In addition to this staple article, however, iron-ore and copper-ore, bees-wax, hemp, and raw silk, were exported from Virginia to England, the last article of which seems likely to be revived as a commodity of trade.

The war between Great Britain and France,

which broke out in 1744, involved the Colonies in the contest ; and in 1751, Washington, then a youth of nineteen years of age, appears for the first time on the public stage, he having been sent as a commissioner from the governor of his native State, Virginia, to the commander of a French fort in the Ohio. The answer of the French officer being evasive, an expedition was soon after despatched to that quarter, the command of which devolved on Washington, after the death of its leader, Colonel Fry. He was at first successful in an affair with a detachment under Jumonville, who was killed ; but on following this up by an attack on Fort Duquesne, the place which the expedition was sent to reduce, he found the reinforcements of the French troops such as to oblige him to retreat. After sustaining the fire of the enemy for a whole day, the French demanded a parley ; and Washington surrendered on honourable terms, being allowed to pass with his troops and baggage back to the settled parts of the State from whence he had come. Washington, after this, accompanied the expedition of General Braddock as a volunteer against the French, on the Ohio, in 1755, and was a witness of his defeat ; but in 1759, he was entrusted with the command of the scattered and re-collected troops of Grant, who had failed as signally as Braddock in the same quarter. At the head of these troops he took the fort which had defied all the attacks of his predecessors, and called it Pittsburgh, in honour of England's then foreign minister, the Earl of Chatham ; for Washington was then fighting under the British flag.

At the termination of this war by the treaty of

Fontainbleau, in 1762, the delicate and difficult question arose, of how and in what proportion the colonies of North America should be made to bear their share of its expense, as they had enjoyed the benefit of its protection ; and as the Virginians had, so early as 1624, asserted “ that she only had the undoubted right to lay taxes and impositions, and none other,” and repeated the same doctrine, in still stronger language in 1676, it was not likely that she would now acquiesce in the propositions made by England in 1764, to raise a revenue on stamps in America, to be paid into the King’s exchequer in England, as their contribution towards the expenses of the war. The proposition was resisted by memorial, petition, remonstrance, and appeal ; and when all these had failed to move the British government, and the act was really passed in 1765, it excited universal indignation, which was accompanied by the cessation of all business, by persons putting on public mourning, by the courts refusing to sanction the act in any of their sittings, and by all classes of people refusing to use the stamps.

From this moment the Revolution might be said to be begun ; and its first step in Virginia, was the passing, by the Legislature of that Colony, the following declaratory resolution, proposed by the celebrated orator, Patrick Henry :—

“ Resolved, that the General Assembly of this Colony, together with his Majesty, or substitute, have, in their representative capacity, the only exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this Colony ; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, is illegal, unconstitutional,

and unjust, and has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom."

The Governor of Virginia, Lord Botetourt, as representing his Majesty, no sooner heard of the passing of this resolution by the General Assembly, than he dissolved it forthwith ; but the constituencies, in the election of the succeeding House, sent up only those who would sustain the resolutions, and rejected all who would not. The example of Virginia fixed the other Colonies, who passed similar resolutions, and proposed a General Congress, which met at New York, where deputies from nine of the Colonies drafted the first Declaration of Rights in 1766.

In 1774, when the draft of the Boston-port Bill, for the exclusion of the duty-charged tea, sent from England, reached Virginia, the new Governor, Lord Dunmore, dissolved the Assembly ; but the members met on the following day in the Raleigh Tavern (still existing) at Williamsburgh, and drew up an able and manly paper, in which they recommended cessation of trade with the East India Company, from whom this obnoxious tea was sent out, taxed by the mother-country. They also advised the assembling of deputies in a Congress from all the Colonies, declaring their opinion that an attack upon the liberties of one should be equally resisted by all. Such a General Congress was accordingly assembled in Philadelphia on the 4th of September, in the same year.

The first overt act of resistance by arms, that marked the outbreak of the Revolution in Virginia, was on the 19th of April, 1775 ; when the Governor, Lord Dunmore, removed the gunpowder from the magazine at Williamsburgh, on board his Majesty's

ship *Magdalene*, then lying in the Chesapeake, which was done under cover of the night. This act becoming known, excited the indignation of the citizens, who demanded its instant restitution; but an evasive answer was given to the demand. Patrick Henry then marched with a company of volunteers, from Hanover county, and forced the King's treasurer to make compensation for the powder thus removed. Meanwhile, the Governor, feeling himself no longer safe on shore, embarked on board the *Montague*, which threatened to open her guns on York-Town, if any attempt were made at resistance. The Assembly invited the Governor to return on shore, to transact the necessary business of the Legislature, and sign many bills waiting this act to give them validity. This he refused to do, unless the Assembly would meet him under the guns of the ship of war, which, of course, they declined. The Governor was, therefore, declared to have abdicated his power; and the Assembly, appointing the president of the council to act in his place, joined the General Association of the original Thirteen Colonies, in their hostility to British power, till they achieved their independence.

From this period, the progress of Virginia has been steadily onward, but not with such rapidity as the more northern States. If extent of area, fertility of soil, beauty of scenery, and salubrity of climate, could have attracted population in a degree proportioned to its superiority in all these features, over all the other States, then ought Virginia to have been by this time, the most thickly-peopled State in the Union; for in all these enumerated qualities

she excels every other with which she can be compared. And if the production of great men could have carried her forward in a more rapid career of improvement than other States not so prolific in this respect, then ought she also to stand at the head of all the States in the Union; for none other can present such a galaxy of talent and greatness, as Virginia has produced, among which, the names of Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Lee, Monroe, Marshall, Madison, Randolph, and Clay, form but a small portion, though these are enough to stamp the State with the highest character for the production of statesmen, warriors, lawyers, and orators. But, despite these unquestionable advantages of superior resources and superior men, Virginia has not advanced with the same rapidity as other States of far inferior promise; and in looking about for the causes of this, there appear to be only the two that so long ago as 1786 struck Mr. Jefferson as the two great drawbacks to Virginian prosperity, namely the excessive cultivation of tobacco, which exhausts the soil, and is ruinous to the interests and comforts of those engaged in its culture; and the system of Slavery, which produces the smallest amount of unskilful labour, in return for the largest outlay of capital in its purchase and subsistence. Were these two causes removed, Virginia would soon overtake all her competitors in the race; but while they continue, her progress, must be comparatively slow. Still, under these two great disadvantages, she presents the aspect of a magnificent country with immense resources, as the following description of her existing condition will show.

CHAP. XXV.

Present extent, condition, and statistics of Virginia—Area, surface, different zones, climate, productions, fruits, trees, minerals, and agricultural resources—Natural Curiosities—The Ice Mountain and Ice Cave—Salt Pond Lake on the summit of the Alleghannies—Colossal Sepulchral Indian Mound with Skeletons—Literary Institutions—Colleges—Funds—Primary Schools—Internal improvements, Manufactures, and Commerce—Religious establishments—Sects and their proportions—Population—Rise and Progress—White and coloured races—Legislature, Executive, and Judiciary of the State—Paupers—Causes of Pauperism—Taxes and treatment—Boundaries of the State of Virginia—General summary of its advantages over other States.

VIRGINIA, or “The Old Dominion,” as its inhabitants still delight to call it, is not only the oldest but the largest State in the Union. Its dimensions are variously stated, but the most accurate, as I have tested it by careful examination, is that of Mitchell, an authority, in all that relates to the geography of this country, quite equal to that of Arrowsmith for the geography of Europe; his measurement of its area, makes its extent from North to South about 220 miles, and from East to West about 370 miles, its whole surface, therefore, covering about 64,000 square miles, or 40,960,000 acres. Hinton, a very good authority in most cases, is singularly inaccurate in respect to the size of Virginia, which he makes to

be 430 by 150 miles, instead of 370 by 220, and on this he deduces its area to be 700,000 square miles! which must be an error of the pen or the press. Even by the smaller measurement of Mitchell, it will be found that this single State of Virginia is larger than all England, Scotland, and Wales, or the whole Island of Britain, the entire area of which is estimated at 62,236 square miles, while that of Virginia, in its present limits, is 64,000 square miles! When Mr. Jefferson wrote his "Notes on Virginia," in 1786, the adjoining States of Kentucky and Ohio formed part of Virginia; its area was then 121,525 square miles, or one third larger than Great Britain and Ireland, the united area of which was estimated at 88,357 square miles. Such is the colossal extent of this great Union, made up of twenty-six States and three Territories, each large enough, with very few exceptions, to form a splendid kingdom in itself.

Virginia is divided into three distinct zones—The Atlantic section, stretching from the sea-coast to the foot of the first range of mountains, called the Blue Ridge, is generally level, or slightly undulated, of alluvial soil. From the warm temperature of its climate, lying between 36° and 40° of north latitude, it is calculated to produce tobacco, cotton, indigo, corn, and grain of various kinds, including rice; with hemp, flax, grapes, melons, peaches, figs, quinces, nectarines, apricots, pomegranates, apples, pears, cherries, almonds, and plums, as well as tomatos, potatoes, peas, beans, and almost every kind of fruit and esculent vegetable required for domestic use. There are many rivers traversing these alluvial

plains ; and while their banks are unusually rich in fertility, their streams afford easy means of communication to the great Bay of the Chesapeake, and the fine harbours along the coast.

The middle zone of Virginia comprehends the mountain ridges of the Alleghanny or Apalachian chain ; and, while the summits of these ridges are elevated from 4,000 to 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, the vallies lying between them are elevated from 1,000 to 2,500 feet above the ocean, and give to the mountain region the most delicious summer-climate that can be conceived. In this zone are found the various species of American oaks, fifty or sixty in number, with the sycamore, walnut, spruce, and other pines, the cedar, the chesnut, and other forest trees, besides the palma christi, the linden or lime-tree, the sugar maple, the buck-eye, or horse chesnut, the aspen, the red-flowering maple, the magnolia acuminata, the fringe or snow-drop tree, the yellow jasmin, the cucumber tree, the red-bud or Judas tree, the American aloe, the rhododendron, kalmia, azalia, and numberless other beautiful flowering trees and shrubs. Here too, grain of every kind is cultivated in abundance, and cattle reared in perfection ; while water is everywhere copious and excellent : making it, in the whole, the most favoured region for agriculture, pasture, and climate, in all the United States.

In this central zone are found also mineral springs in great number and variety, and many of the most valuable metals. Gold has been discovered on the north side of the Rappahannock river. Mines of lead, mixed with silver, exist in Montgomery county,

on the river Kenhāwa, and mines of copper in Amherst county, north of James-river, with others in the opposite county, on the southern side of that stream. Iron mines are worked in Albermarle county, as well as in the counties of Augusta and Frederick; and vessels made of cast-iron, from the ores of these mines, are said to be tougher than any other cast-iron vessels known. Plumbago, or black-lead, is found in Amelia county; and coal is so abundant in the neighbourhood of Richmond, as to form one of their chief articles of export from thence. Nitre caves on Rock Creek, a branch of the river Kenhāwa, as well as on the Green Briar and Cumberland rivers, furnish this substance in abundance; and Brine Springs, near the same streams, yield immense quantities of salt. Limestone is the chief substance of the rocks and mountains west of the Alleghanny range, and excellent marble is found in the Rockfish Gap, and on James-river. Beautiful rock-crystals are common in the hills, and amethysts are also often found. One instance is mentioned of a fine emerald having been accidentally discovered. But for want of capital, population, and enterprise, scarcely a fraction of the vast mineral treasures of the State has been yet explored; though enough is known to prove, that in this, it will at some future day, prove itself to be as rich, as in its agricultural and commercial resources, and these are but yet half developed, from the same cause.*

* Since writing the above, the following paragraph has appeared in the New York papers on this subject—

“MINERAL RICHES OF VIRGINIA.—Bituminous coal occurs at intervals over a tract of 35 miles, from South Anna river, near

Among the natural curiosities—some of which, especially the Natural Bridge and Wyer's Cave, have been fully described—there is, perhaps, none more remarkable than that of the Ice-mountain, and Ice-cave in Hampshire county; where, at an elevation of about 1,000 feet from the general level of the valley below, the north-west side of the mountain is covered with loose stones, like the summit of the White Mountain in New Hampshire; and on removing these stones, to a depth of two or three feet from the surface, an abundant supply of ice is found at the hottest seasons of the year. There are also many fine cataracts, especially the Falling Spring in Alleghanny county, which has a perpendicular descent of 200 feet. There are also some ebbing and flowing springs, which, though perfectly fresh, and distant 300 miles from the sea, alternately ebb and flow like the tides of the ocean. And lastly, there is the remarkable Salt-water Lake, on the summit of the mountains in Giles county, which is three miles

its mouth, to the Appomattox. In some places the coal seam is found 40 feet thick. It is found in abundance within 16 miles of Richmond, in Henrico, in Chesterfield, in Goochland, in Powhatan—on James-river and on the Tuckahoe. At Mid Lothian pit, in Chesterfield county, a shaft has been sunk 720 feet below the surface, and a seam of fine coal been penetrated 11 feet.

“Iron is found in abundance in various parts of the State. There are seven mines of it in Spotsylvania, near the junction of the Rappahannock and the Rapidian rivers.

“Of gold mines, generally less valuable than iron, there are 12 in Goochland, 15 in Orange, 11 in Culpepper, 26 in Spotsylvania, 10 in Stafford, and six in Fauquier. Total gold mines, 80!

“There are also 5 copper mines in Fauquier county. The mineral resources in Virginia are truly most extensive and valuable.”

in circumference, and 100 fathoms deep, though at an elevation of 3,700 feet above the sea. It was originally a "Salt Lick," as it is called, a place where deer and other wild animals came to lick the incrustations of salt formed here by the evaporations of shallow salt-streams, in their passage through a deep valley or glen; but within the memory of aged persons now living, the apertures of entrance to, and exit from this valley, became closed up, and the springs at the bottom, finding no outlet, gradually accumulated their waters, till they formed the singular lake now existing, on the very summit of the mountain.

The interior zone of Virginia, which stretches from the Alleghannies to the Ohio river, resembles the central one; but the mountains, being more abrupt, do not present so large a surface adapted to agriculture, as to pasture; though, wherever agriculture is pursued, the soil is found to be equally fertile, and the climate quite as salubrious. It is in this section of the country that is found one of the largest of the Indian mounds yet discovered, about fourteen miles below Wheeling, on the Ohio. This mound is three hundred feet in diameter at its base, sixty feet in diameter at its top, and seventy feet in perpendicular height. It is believed to contain thousands of skeletons of the burned Indians of remote ages, for in every part yet opened, such dead bodies have been found. But neither the Indians of the present day, nor the most learned of those who have made their history their study, have yet been able to throw the least light on the question, of who these Indians

were, or at what period, or by what particular tribe or nation this huge mound was erected.

The literary institutions of Virginia comprehend the most ancient College of William and Mary at Williamsburgh, founded in 1693; Hampden and Sydney College in Prince Edward county, incorporated in 1783; Washington College at Lexington established in 1796; and the University of Virginia, founded by Jefferson at Charlottesville in 1819. A Literary Fund, supported by the State Legislature, for the support of academies and schools, gives some assistance to the cause of Education, its annual expenditure being, on the average, 60,000 dollars. But no general and comprehensive system of Common Schools exists in Virginia, on the plan of Massachusetts, New York, and the Northern States generally; though the soundness of the principle which makes the State the guardian and supporter of public education, being now admitted by the formation of this Literary Fund, its extension will naturally follow. The Fund was first established by the Legislature of Virginia in 1809, by devoting the proceeds of all escheats, forfeitures, and fines, to the encouragement of learning. In 1816, this was augmented by the appropriation of the amount due from the general Government of the United States to the State of Virginia, on account of advances made by this State in support of the last war with Great Britain. From these united sources, the Fund is now upwards of 1,500,000 dollars; its revenue being 78,000 dollars annually. Of this, 45,000 dollars are expended every year in the support of primary schools in the various

counties of the State, for the education of white children of indigent parents. The number of such schools, in 100 counties and towns were, by the last report, 2,872; the whole number of children receiving education, on this system, upwards of 50,000; and the average expense of education for each child, was about two dollars and fifty cents, or ten shillings and six-pence only per annum, including cost of books, teachers, and all contingent expenses!

Of internal improvements, the most remarkable is the opening of the Dismal Swamp near Norfolk, over which a canal has been carried, twenty-two miles in length; which, in conjunction with railroads on either side, has opened a direct and speedy communication between Norfolk in Virginia and Wilmington in North Carolina, to the benefit of both. Railroads are extending also in different directions; and steamboats on all the bays, rivers, and coasts, make the communications safe, rapid, and cheap. The Internal Improvement Fund is upwards of 3,000,000 dollars; the interest of which is appropriated to aid the progress of public works.

The manufactures of Virginia have been lately on the increase, those of cotton alone employing a capital of 5,000,000 of dollars. The commerce exceeds 5,000,000 of dollars in annual exports of native products, in addition to articles of foreign trade; but the imports are almost all obtained through New York, though great efforts are making to bring back, if possible, the import trade to Norfolk, as the most appropriate port of entry for the State.

Of the religious establishments in Virginia, the Baptists take the lead, having about 400 churches,

250 ministers, and upwards of 50,000 communicants. The Methodists follow next in order of numbers, having about 100 ministers, and upwards of 40,000 members. The Presbyterians have 120 churches, and about the same number of ministers, with upwards of 10,000 communicants. The Episcopalians, though the oldest of all the denominations, have only 50 churches, and about 70 clergymen. The numbers of the Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Quakers, and Jews, are not accurately known, but each have several congregations; and the Roman Catholics are thought to be greatly on the increase. The Episcopalians, however, in Virginia, as in the other States, embrace the most wealthy and aristocratic portions of the community, and make up in influence what they want in numbers, so as to form always a most important portion of the religious bodies of the community. The progressive increase of population in Virginia, may be seen from the following statement—

<i>Before the Revolution.</i>			<i>Since the Revolution.</i>		
In 1642	-	20,000	In 1790	-	747,610
1660	-	30,000	1800	-	880,200
1703	-	60,606	1810	-	974,622
1749	-	85,000	1820	-	1,065,366
1763	-	170,000	1830	-	1,211,375

Estimated present population, 1,500,000

White, 800,000—Coloured, 700,000

Capacity to support population, at least 20,000,000.

The Legislature of Virginia is composed of a House of Delegates, consisting of 134 members, chosen annually by the people; a Senate, composed of 32 members, chosen, for four years, by the coun-

ties, one-fourth being renewed every year ; and a Governor, chosen for three years, and elected by the joint vote of the two Houses, or General Assembly ; and in all cases the voting is open, or *viva voce*, and not by secret ballot.

The Executive is composed of the Governor, who has a salary of 3,000 dollars per annum ; a Lieutenant-Governor, and two other Counsellors of State, at 1,000 dollars a year each ; a Treasurer, two Auditors, a Registrar of the Land Office, an Attorney-General, and several Secretaries, with salaries varying from 2,000 to 1,000 dollars each.

The Judiciary consists of a Court of Appeal, formed of five Judges, at salaries of 2,500 dollars each ; and a General Court, of twenty-one Judges, one for each of the Circuits of the State, at salaries of 1,500 dollars each. Besides these, there are County Courts held for criminal as well as civil offences, by Justices of the Peace ; and on the whole, justice is cheaply, speedily, and impartially administered.

The number of paupers in Virginia is probably greater than in any other State in the Union ; being in the last year upwards of 2,500 ; and involving an annual expense of 100,000 dollars for their support. The causes which most powerfully contribute to this state of things appear to be—First, the system of Slavery, which makes menial labour degrading, and therefore disagreeable to the whites, and indisposes them to that degree of manual exertion and industry which they would use where slave-labour was unknown. Secondly, the excessive use of tobacco, which, in either of its forms of chewing or smoking, disposes men to indolence, and leads to an immense

loss of time ; but besides this, it too frequently, among the poor especially, brings habits of drinking in its train, and thus doubly disqualifies the subject of it from being either industrious or economical. For the support of such paupers, a tax or poor-rate is raised by the overseers of the poor, and is thus appropriated :—In the greater number of the counties, the poor are boarded out in private families, frequently among their relatives, at a stipulated rate per annum ; or the pauper sometimes receives the annual sum agreed on, which varies from 50 to 100 dollars for a single person, and he then maintains himself. In a few of the counties, however—not more than a fourth of the whole number—a poor-house is erected, by consent of the County Court. To this is attached a farm, on which, all paupers who receive relief are obliged to work, as well as to live ; and their cost of maintenance by this mode is only from 30 to 40 dollars each per annum. This system, which is of comparatively recent introduction, has wrought the same reform here as the New Poor Law in England. Idle vagabonds, who forced themselves on the pauper-fund by the former system, and lived in laziness upon their annual stipend, shrink from this test of working on the farm, and earning their bread before they eat it. Counties, which under the former system, had from 75 to 100 paupers each, at a cost of from 50 to 100 dollars per head, have now only from 20 to 30, at a cost of 30 to 40 dollars each ; and those who are really in want have more comfortable homes in these houses than they could otherwise procure ; while the lazy are made industrious by the change.

• The boundaries of Virginia, are, on the North, the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and the District of Columbia, once part of this State on the South, North Carolina and Tennessee; on the west, Kentucky and Ohio; and on the east, the Chesapeake Bay, the State of Maryland, and the Atlantic Ocean.

On the whole, therefore, Virginia, or “The Old Dominion,”—though having two powerful drawbacks to her advancing career of prosperity, in the cultivation of tobacco and the existence of Slavery—is nevertheless a magnificent State; larger in area than any other in the Union, and more diversified and beautiful in its scenery; with one of the noblest bays, and one of the finest harbours in the world, as well as some of the most beautiful rivers on the globe; as the Chesapeake, and its tributary streams of the Susquehannah, Shenandoah, Patapsco, Potomac, Rappahannock, the James, York, and Elizabeth rivers on the coast—with the Monongahela, the Great Kenhàwa, the Cumberland, and the Ohio, in the interior—sufficiently prove.

Her climate and productions embrace, on the whole, a greater variety also than any other single State; and, while the men of Virginia are among the largest and finest in stature, with more healthy complexions, and more robust and vigorous frames, than are to be seen in any other of the Atlantic States; the women are neither so diminutive in size, so spare or slender in figure, so pale in complexion, or so consumptive in constitution, as the women of the North. In both sexes, a degree of ease and frankness is observable, which makes them a sort of

connecting-link between the coldness and reserve of the New Englanders, and the boldness and recklessness of the Louisianians and Mississippians. I have seen it stated, that when Sir John Sinclair, the celebrated agriculturist, turned his thoughts towards America, as the land of his future home, and corresponded with General Washington on the subject, asking his advice as to the best portion of the Union for a gentleman-farmer to settle in; the General recommended him to fix on the central parts of Virginia, between the Blue Ridge and the easternmost of the Alleghannies, as the Arcadia of this continent. I confess that I should have given the same advice, to any friend who had consulted me on the same subject. For a healthy, tranquil, and abundantly-rewarded agricultural and pastoral life, I can imagine nothing superior, in soil, climate, scenery, and salubrity, to that delightful zone. It would even now form an agreeable home for the industrious emigrant, with a little capital and knowledge of farming; and if Slavery and tobacco-planting were abandoned, and free labour and wheat-cultivation substituted in their stead, it would be filled, in less than a century, with a numerous, opulent, and intelligent population, counting millions instead of thousands in her census.

CHAP. XXVI.

Departure from Norfolk—Touch at the ruins of James-Town—Want of reverence in the Americans for antiquities—National vanity exhibited in their literature—Exaggerated estimate of American poetry—Voyage up the James-River—City point—Large ships loading—Arrival at Richmond—Journey to Fredericksburg—Description of the town—Stage route to Warrenton—Gang of negro slaves chained in pairs, marching towards a Southern market—Frequent escape of slaves, and rewards for seizing them.

WE left Norfolk at six A. M. on the morning of Wednesday the 11th of September, in the steamer Patrick Henry, for Richmond, intending to visit the New White Sulphur Springs, in Fauquier county, east of the Blue Ridge, by way of Fredericksburg, and to go from thence to Alexandria, for the purpose of visiting the mansion and tomb of General Washington at Mount Vernon, as it would have been painful to us to quit Virginia without paying our humble homage at the shrine of one of the most illustrious of her sons.

The morning of our departure was one of the most exquisitely beautiful that can be conceived the late storm, which had strewed the coast with wrecks, had at the same time so purified the atmosphere, that the blue vault of heaven seemed im-

measurably more lofty than usual, from the intense clearness of the infinite space ; and the sunrise was literally gorgeous. The view of the town of Norfolk from the harbour, as we glided down between it and Portsmouth, less than half a mile distant from either, was beautiful ; and as we had in sight at the same time, the openings of the two branches of Elizabeth-river, with the Navy-yard at Gosport, the Java and Guerriere frigates, the Delaware and Pennsylvania ships of the line, while just beyond us the Naval Asylum, with its snow-white Doric portico and pediment, seemed bathed in a flood of sun-light, and the frigate Brandywine, ready equipped for sea, at anchor abreast of it, in gallant trim, with sloops, schooners, and boats innumerable, thus early in motion—the picture was most animated and enchanting.

I confess, however, that there was a dash of melancholy in the feelings with which I remembered that I had looked upon the same scene, with a change only of the moving objects, thirty years ago ; and that of all those whom I had then known residing here, in youth, vigour, and beauty, as well as in more mature age, the greater number had been swept away by death, and all had been dispersed ; so that there was not now left a single individual, out of a hundred, at least, whom I then personally knew, and whose friendly hospitalities I had shared ! Add to this, the conviction in my own mind, that I was now looking upon it for the last time, and that there was not the remotest probability of my ever beholding it again, deepened the sadness under which I felt weighed down ; so that when we rounded the point of Craney Island, and turning sharp to the

'north-west, entered the mouth of James-river, by which Norfolk and its harbour disappeared from our sight, I felt my heart almost full enough for tears.

The splendid steamer in which we were embarked, swept along her majestic way, at a rate of fifteen miles per hour ; and as the weather continued beautifully fine, we remained constantly on the upper deck, and enjoyed the passing scenery on both sides of our track. The James-river appeared from five to six miles wide at its entrance, and gradually diminished in breadth as we ascended, till we came to James-Town, fifty miles from the mouth of the river, and seventy from Richmond, where it is little less than two miles across.

As the steamer stopped here a few minutes only, to take in, and put on shore, some passengers for Williamsburgh, to which this is the nearest point of embarkation, we were enabled to make a hurried visit to the remnant of the old church-tower, built of English bricks, and to bring away a fragment of it as a relic, as this solitary ruin is all that remains of this first settlement of the British in the Old Dominion, and the first *English* town ever founded or built on the shores of the New World.* The towers of Ilion, on the plain of Troy, have hardly been more completely demolished, than the buildings which composed the James-Town of Smith and his brave companions, in the days of the Virgin Queen ; and

* The oldest town in the United States, by more than forty years, is St. Augustine, in Florida. It was founded by the *Spaniards* forty years before Virginia was colonized. Some of the houses are yet standing, which are said to have been built more than three centuries ago.

though the two rivers that wash the tongue of land on which this infant settlement was planted, are not likely, for ages yet to come, to shrink into such narrow beds as those of the Simois and the Scamander; yet, without some infusion of the taste for antiquities, and a veneration for the heroes and heroines of their early history, which hardly seem to be known or felt among the present race of Americans, it seems probable that the very spot where their first city stood, will be less capable of recognition than the site of the ancient Nineveh or Babel, or the tombs of Ajax and Achilles, on the Trojan plain. And yet, the history of the early navigators, their adventurous voyage across the stormy Atlantic, in frail and trembling barks, their enterprise and devotion, and the romantic history of their intrepid leader, and his tender-hearted deliverer, Pocahontas, is as well worthy of being embalmed in the memories of their posterity, as the voyage of the Argonauts, or the wanderings of Ulysses, and need only the genius of a true poet to embody them in undying verse.

On this subject, I cannot forbear adverting to an article on the subject of American poetry, which formed part of my reading on the deck of the Patrick Henry, as we steamed up the James-river. On our voyage down this stream from Richmond, a fortnight since, we had among the passengers, Mr. George Jones, the American tragedian, who confines himself to the performance of Shakspeare's most important characters, and who is now attempting a reform in the drama here, and Mr. T. K. White, the editor of one of the best periodicals in the country, entitled "The Southern Literary Messenger," published

monthly, at Richmond, but read extensively in every State in the Union. The first of these gentlemen I had known in England, the second I had corresponded with several times since my arrival in this country, so that we were on sufficiently intimate terms to enjoy a long conversation on American poetry, and the drama; and each of these, with the best opportunities, and equal capacities for judging, seemed to entertain the same lofty opinion of the taste and powers of their countrymen in this particular, as the Americans generally do, of their nation in all other things. The national sentiment seems to be—that they are not inferior to other nations *in anything*, and that they are greatly superior to them *in most*. The editor had furnished me with the two last numbers of the Southern Literary Messenger, for August and September—to which, indeed, as to most of the best periodicals of the country, I had been a regular subscriber and reader, ever since my landing in the country—and these I read as I sat on the deck of the Patrick Henry, enjoying, at intervals, the beautiful scenery of the river up which we were ascending. I content myself, therefore, with transcribing a single paragraph from the article entitled “Biographical Sketches of Living American Poets and Novelists,” from the August number, (p. 541) to show how one of the best periodicals in America expresses the general public sentiment as to her poets. This is the passage of the writer—

“It is true, as a nation, we are but an infant, but an infant which, like Minerva, sprung into being in full armour, noble in stature, godlike in wisdom, and clothed with the glory of perfect strength and beauty! America is indeed young, but the members

which compose this infantile empire, are coeval in civilization with the oldest nations of the earth. Equal with them, *and behind them in nothing*—whether in religion, philosophy, science, or the literary arts. It is quite time that our literary friends on the other side of the Atlantic, should cease to seek among us for the first rudiments alone of poetic composition, as if we were just emerging from a primitive state of ignorance, and knew nothing of the arts of poetry. They should cease to reject our muse, because a thousand years have not elapsed since our national birth—when our poetry has no more to do with our existence as a nation than Christianity has itself. Man is by nature a poet, and poetry is alone the language of enthusiasm and passion, or of a lively fancy and brilliant imagination. These—other things being equal, which, in the present case, we contend they are—must certainly be independent of length of political existence, their dependence being solely on the degree of cultivation of the mind. The scale of mental culture is full as high in America as in England; and save that the revolutionary war has laid the foundation for a distinctive national character, which has ever since been gradually forming, and turning into channels diverging from that which originally burst from the maternal fountain the current of American thought and genius, we are still one and the same people, and subjects of the same broad empire of mind.”

In the September number of the same work, the subject is again resumed, in an article headed “Recent American Poetry,” and it may be but fair to give from this, a short specimen of what the writer of the article thinks entitled to especial admiration, and prints, as a whole, for the purpose of confirming the soundness of his judgment. I give both the prefatory remarks of the reviewer, and the piece itself, and leave the reader to judge how far the excessive eulogy is deserved. The reviewer says—

“It is, however, upon his miscellaneous pieces that Mr. Dawes’ reputation as a poet mainly depends. *The melody of their versification is truly enchanting.* The *ideas*, too, are worthy of such

exquisite expression. The public are aware of the beauties of all these productions, for none have been more liberally transferred to our literary journals. We have space for the shortest only—

ART THOU HAPPY, LOVELY LADY ?

“ Art thou happy, lovely lady,
 In the splendour round thee thrown?
 Can the jewels that array thee,
 Bring the peace which must have flown?
 By the vows which thou hast spoken,
 By the faith which thou hast broken,
 I ask of thee no token
 That my heart is sad and lone.

“ There was one that loved thee, Mary !
 There was one that fondly kept
 A hope which could not vary,
 Till in agony it slept.
 He loved thee, dearly loved thee,
 And thought his passion moved thee ;
 But disappointment proved thee
 What love has often wept.

“ Had Mr. Dawes been a *common-place poet*, or simply a new claimant for distinction, we should have been *more prodigal of commendation*, and more niggard of blame. Bind up this volume without ‘Geraldine,’ and you have an admirable collection of poetry, fit to appear worthily, if not *the first*, in a ‘Library of American Poets.’ ”

The more charitably disposed in Europe, have been accustomed to think, that there were sufficient reasons to account for the fact, of no great poet having yet appeared in America—without imputing to the inhabitants of the country generally, any inferiority of intellect, or understanding, on all subjects to which they apply themselves with interest and zeal. Some have attributed this to the excessively busy and mercantile character of the people, and the

absence of a large class of persons of fortune and leisure for the enjoyment of the higher branches of literature, such as the old countries of Europe contain. Others have sought the solution of the problem, in the supposed scantiness of materials for poetry, in the absence of that romance, which mythology and early history throw around other lands. But the Oracle of the Literary Messenger will not admit of either. He contends that there *are* already as good poets in America as in any of the oldest and most literary countries of Europe ; and he treats all those who think there is a scantiness of materials for poetry, with as little courtesy as respect.

While literary distinction is so slightly esteemed, and literary labour so inadequately rewarded, by the American community, those who possess even the highest order of genius will be drawn aside from the loftier pursuits of literature, to enter the lists in some other profession more likely to be rewarded with fortune as well as fame. It would not be too much to say, that Scott, Byron, Bulwer, and Moore, have received, in the distinctions conferred on them, and the prices paid for their writings, more honour and profit, than all the writers of the United States, from the Declaration of Independence, till the present time ; and until a law of international copyright shall place American authors on a better footing of protection for their labours—until honours and distinctions shall be awarded by the public authorities—and as great homage be paid in social life to distinguished talents, in America, as is in England, and still more in Germany and in France—the progress of literary improvement, in the higher branches of the Belles

Lettres especially, will continue to be slow. Although such beautiful historical works, as that of Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella,—such sweet poetry as Bryant's, and Mrs. Sigourney's,—such exquisite works of imagination as Ware's Zenobia,—and such eminently philanthropic essays as those of Dr. Channing,—will, no doubt, continue to adorn the Literature of America; yet it will be long before a Shakspeare or a Milton would find “audience meet” among their busy and money-getting countrymen, even should they speedily appear. But I have given the extract from the Literary Messenger to show what opinions their most popular journals maintain upon this subject, rather than venture on assertions of my own, unsupported by proof; because the Americans perpetually accuse the English of doing them injustice, when they speak of their national vanity; though it is not so easy to deny it, when proofs are presented to them from their own records.

Our voyage from James-Town up the river was unmarked by any peculiarity. The weather continued to be delightful; the sky as bright as in an English June, and the thermometer at 70°. The fine old mansions of the Colonial planters, the scenes of loyalty and hospitality under the Old Dominion of the British, many of which still present their antique fronts to the gliding stream, are now possessed, not by their descendants, but by strangers; and the large estates, which were kept complete under the old law of primogeniture, are now divided into smaller portions among various possessors, so that in the language of the Grecian bard—

“ To other lords the large domains,
And the envied power remains,
Of the territories wide,
For which they fought, for which they died.”*

It was thought by some of the Virginian gentlemen who accompanied us in this voyage, that many of these estates had changed possessors several times since the revolution, now little more than half a century ago.

On reaching the landing-place for Petersburg, on the southern banks of the river, where some passengers were put on shore, we found lying there and at the spot called City Point, just above it, twelve large ships loading with tobacco and cotton for Europe. Among them were three fine vessels of from 500 to 600 tons, belonging to Petersburg, the others were from Boston and New York. The navigation for large vessels ends here ; as above this, the river grows narrower and shallower all the way to Richmond, a distance of thirty-five miles, though the water continues to be deep enough for schooners, sloops, and steam-boats. The approach to Richmond in ascending the river is very fine, the rising city on its many hills, and the prominent position of the Capitol giving it a most imposing appearance. We reached the wharf about five o'clock, having been eleven hours performing a distance of 130 miles, or about twelve miles an hour all the way, against the current, and including all stoppages, making it therefore equal to about fifteen miles an hour without these hinderances.

* Æschylus, in the Seven Chiefs against Thebes. 985.

Having slept at the Powhatan House, we left Richmond on the following morning (September 12) at eight o'clock, by the railroad cars for Fredericksburg. The morning was as bright and beautiful as on the preceding day, and the thermometer about 65°. Richmond itself seemed to us even more picturesque than on our first visit ; but the country along which the railroad lay, between it and Petersburg, was tame and uninteresting ; and the few patches cultivated with Indian corn, had been all destroyed by the recent violent storms. We did not reach Fredericksburg till four o'clock, having been therefore eight hours in going seventy-five miles, the fare being three dollars each. We found good accommodations for the night at the Farmer's Hotel ; and enjoyed the evening in an agreeable walk, through and around the town.

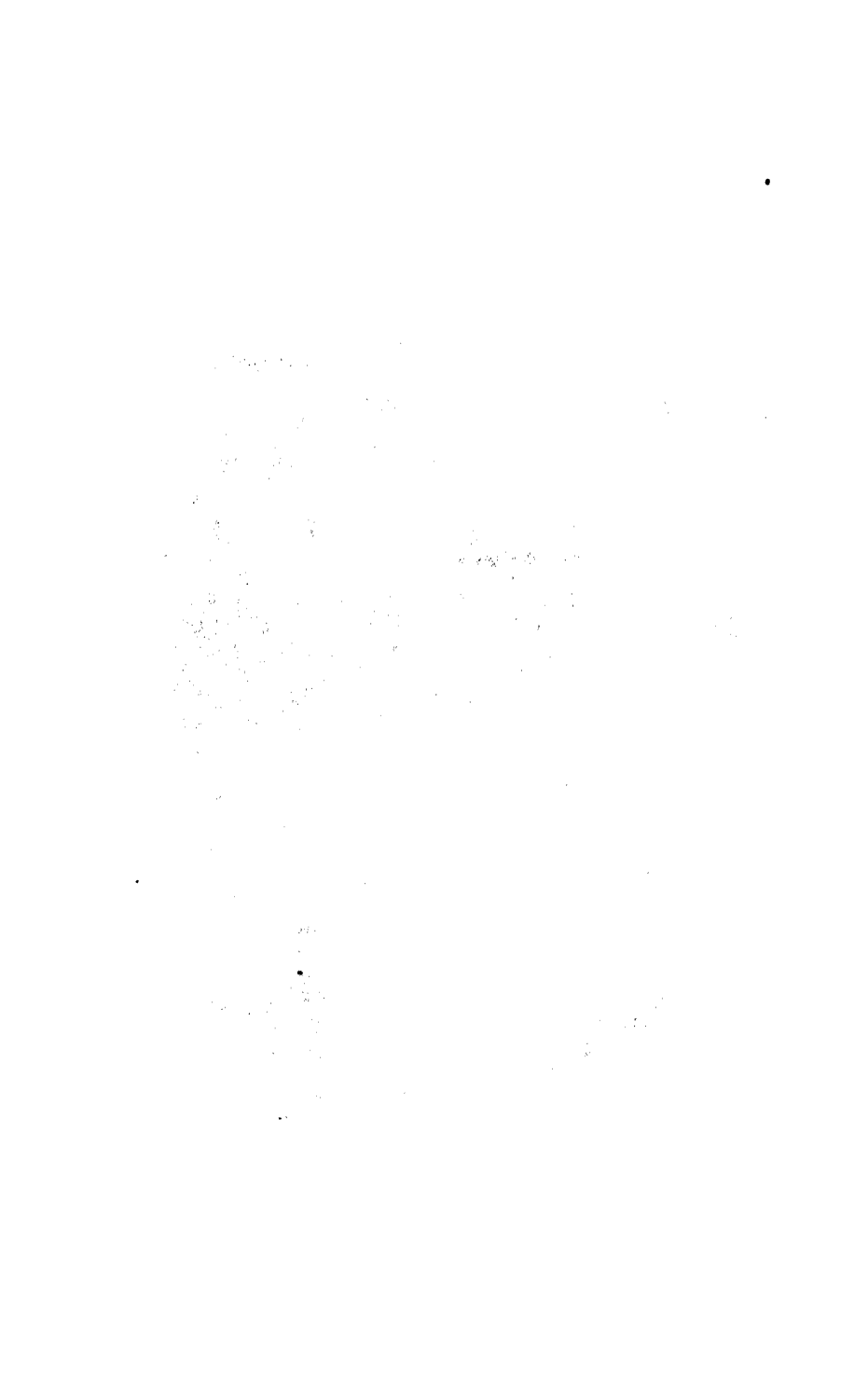
Fredericksburg is a regularly-planned and well-built town, with straight and wide streets, substantial brick houses, and all the appearances of rising prosperity. It contains a population of 4,000 persons, of whom it is thought not more than 1,000 are people of colour, the proportion of these to the whites continually diminishing as you travel northward. It contains a good Court-House, and four Churches, Episcopalian, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist. It lies in the county of Spotsylvania, and near the banks of the Rappahannock river. Its stores are large, and well supplied. In the neighbourhood of the town are several cotton-factories for spinning and weaving, worked chiefly by white labourers, and increasing every year in the extent of their operations,

which continually draws a largely-increasing population to settle around them.

The early hours at which the stages leave, and the constant habit of their setting out *before* the time appointed, obliged us to be up at four; although we did not actually leave till five o'clock. The weather was now so excessively cold, as to require all the cloaks we could wrap around us, and to have the curtains and windows of the coach closed at the same time; which, as we had a slow ride of fourteen miles, at the rate of three and a half miles the hour, before breakfast, was sufficiently disagreeable, especially after the excessively hot weather we had experienced within the last two weeks only, at Richmond, Petersburg, and Norfolk.

Two miles beyond Fredericksburg, we passed through the village of the cotton-factories, which, at that early hour, was crowded with waggons, of which there could not be less than a hundred in the streets. Beyond this, we saw the corn fields in the least interesting aspect which they present, with all the leaves of the corn pulled off, and piled up in heaps for fodder—the corn-stalk and the naked heads of corn alone remaining. In this state they continue for a month, the grain ripening all the while, till, in the early part of October, they are gathered in and housed. In some of the fields we saw tobacco and buckwheat growing, the latter in full flower. The country was generally level; but the sight of the Blue Ridge in the north-west, gave a fine background to the picture.

It was in a valley near this, that we met a gang



of slaves, including men, women, and children, the men chained together in pairs, and the women carrying the children and bundles, in their march to the South. The gang was under several white drivers, who rode near them on horseback, with large whips, while the slaves marched on foot beside them; and there was one driver behind, to bring up the rear. It did not appear that the slaves had committed any offence. They were chained together for precaution rather than for punishment; because, when accompanied only by one or two white men—and the economy of traffic would, of course, confine the expense of their escort within as narrow bounds as possible—they might be tempted to rise against them in any solitary part of the road, or, at the least, to escape from them if they could; both of which, this chaining them together renders impossible. That they do escape, not when thus chained, but when released from their fetters, every newspaper in the Southern States bears testimony, in the rewards offered for runaway negroes.

As we passed through Richmond, indeed, we learnt that three of the best waiters at one of the hotels there had gone off; and 600 dollars reward was publicly offered for their apprehension. These men belonged to different owners, who had no employment for them in their own houses, or on their own estates, and therefore let them out on hire, at high wages, to the proprietor of the hotel. As not more than half the wages earned by these men was paid to themselves, the other half going to their owners as profit, nothing was more natural than that they should desire to become free, as in such case they would receive the whole of their wages instead of a portion only,

Yet, with the most natural of all motives to seek an escape to the free States of the North, where, whatever they may be able to earn, they are permitted fully to enjoy, without abatement or deduction, the Southern slaveholders affect to be very indignant at their absconding, and persist in it that the slaves are better treated than the free negroes, and always repent their running away! It is rare, indeed, however, that any of them evince this repentance by desiring to be taken back again, notwithstanding the stories to this effect, that are every now and then repeated by the Southern papers. Nor is there one slaveholder out of a thousand who would be willing to place the whole of his slaves upon the footing of giving freedom to those who desired it, and keeping only those in his possession who preferred his service to being free. Instances of individual kindness, to favourite slaves and personal attendants, are no doubt sufficiently numerous, to warrant the belief that *some* of these would prefer remaining the property of their masters, with all the certainty of protection and comfortable subsistence which they enjoy, to the risk of being in want, if set free to rely upon their own resources only. Even to these, however, the option is rarely offered, of choosing for themselves; and with respect to the mass of the slaves in the South, it is never placed within their reach; so that the constantly-repeated assertion of the apologists of slavery, that "the slaves would not accept their freedom even if it were tendered to them, and would be worse off if they did," is never put to the test, by an actual tender of their liberty, because they know too well, that it would be cheerfully accepted.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Faquier Springs—Family of Yturbide, ex-emperor of Mexico—Recent discovery of the waters—Establishment built by a Company—Description, extent, and plan of the grounds—The Pavilion—Cottages—Garden—Fountains—Baths—Fire by an incendiary at the hotel—Journey from the Springs to Warrenton and Buckland—Character of Virginians of both sexes, by a native—Arrival at Alexandria—Ruined suburbs—Declining prosperity—Causes of its diminished commerce—Visit to Mount Vernon—Washington's estate—Description of the mansion and grounds—Pictures, busts, library, and memorials—Washington's Tomb—Dilapidated condition—Neglect of their national monuments by Americans—Visit to the Museum of Alexandria—Curious personal relics of General Washington—Other curiosities in nature and art.

WE reached the Faquier White Sulphur Springs at four o'clock, having been eleven hours in coming a distance of thirty-five miles, and the fare being four dollars each, so that the travelling was both slow and dear. We found here a very small number of visitors remaining, though about a fortnight since there were upwards of 600 guests at the establishment. But the suddenness with which the cold weather had set in, had dispersed them all to their homes, so that there were not more than twenty remaining; and most of these were detained for conveyances, the only single stage between this and Washington being engaged for three days ahead.

Among the small party left, was the widow and five children, three daughters and two sons, of the celebrated Mexican chief, Yturbide, who, about fifteen years ago, had usurped the government of Mexico, and had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; but was soon afterwards shot, in the presence of his wife, who was at that moment near him. The widowed lady had great dignity and sorrow mingled in her countenance, and her whole demeanour was becomingly composed. The daughters were between seventeen and twenty-one; and the younger son, who was born after the father's death, about fourteen. These were among the gayest of the gay; they spoke Spanish and English equally well, having resided ever since their expatriation in Philadelphia and Washington, on a pension of 10,000 dollars a year allowed to the widow, from the Mexican government, but, like all the pecuniary engagements of that distracted and embarrassed country, very irregularly paid.

We had to remain at the Springs for a few days, until a conveyance could be ensured for our proceeding; and that which made it dull to others, namely, the absence of the crowd, made it peculiarly charming and acceptable to us, as we enjoyed our garden-walks, with the waters and the warm-baths, in all that uninterrupted quiet, which is the rarest luxury to be procured in America.

The Sulphur Spring existing here was known some years ago, while the estate in which it rises was held as a farm; and the residents of the neighbourhood, believing it to possess medicinal virtues, came here from time to time to drink its waters.

This became so troublesome to the occupier of the farm, that having tried every other means to keep away these intruders in vain, he at length filled up the spring, and rendered its waters wholly inaccessible. Recently, however, a gentleman, foreseeing the profitable use that might be made of it, purchased the estate, and obtaining a charter of incorporation for a Company from the State Legislature, allied himself with other stockholders, and planned and executed the present establishment. Lying as it does within fifty-six miles of Washington, and so easily accessible from Richmond, Baltimore, and all the great northern cities, being within three days' journey only, even of Boston, it has already become one of the most popular places of resort in the South, and seems likely to become more so every year.

The grounds occupied by the Company in this estate, embrace nearly 3,000 acres of land, through the centre of which runs the stream of the Rappahannock; there being about 1,800 acres on one side, and 1,200 on the other. One-fourth of the whole is alluvial ground, formed by the Rappahannock and the smaller streams running into it. The remaining portion is prettily undulated with rising ground of gentle ascents, moderate height, and varied surface. The spot on which the principal edifice stands, has been judiciously selected; as, from its principal front to the west is an easy and even descent towards the bottom of the valley, while the prospect extends for at least ten or twelve miles in a westerly direction till it is terminated by the fine barrier of mountains forming the Blue Ridge, whose lofty

eminences and waving outlines give a grand termination to the picture.

The Pavilion, as the principal edifice is called, is a handsome brick building, 188 feet in length, by 44 in breadth, including a centre and two wings, each having its appropriate colonnade of the Doric order, sustaining three entablatures at corresponding heights; the whole forming a long corridor or piazza for promenade. The building is four stories in height; the ground-floor is appropriated to the dining-room, under a double-vaulted roof or arcade; this room is 144 feet long by 30 broad, and is capable of dining comfortably upwards of 400 persons. On the second-story, or, as in England it would be called, on the first-floor, is the ball-room, 100 feet by 40, with the sitting-rooms for ladies and gentlemen, reading-room, and offices. The third and fourth stories contain about seventy bed-rooms, none very small, and some of ample dimensions, with two, three, and even four beds in the same apartment. Besides the Pavilion, there is an additional brick building, recently erected on the opposite side of the road, 105 feet long by 30 wide, and four stories in height, chiefly occupied by sleeping-rooms. And from the west front of the Pavilion is a semicircular row of cabins or cottages leading off from the extremity of each wing, and going down the sloping ground towards the valley, till they terminate in two larger buildings, of three stories each, with double apartments for families.

The space between these semicircular rows of cottages, and in front of the Pavilion, is tastefully

laid out, in the French style of the Tuilleries and the Luxembourg, with lawn, and gravelled walks, central fountain, and corresponding jets-d'eau in the angles of the garden. This is terminated in the distance by the Sulphur Spring, under an octagonal canopy of wood, sustained by pillars, and guarded by a full-length marble statue of some female divinity, of the size of life. The formality of the plan on which the grounds are laid out, partakes more of the Dutch and French than of the English style of ornamental gardening; but it is, perhaps, better adapted than any other would be, to so even a surface and so limited a space. The view of the whole, from the hill, at a distance of 200 yards beyond the western front, is striking and beautiful, though too regular, perhaps, for a good picture.

The water of the Spring is impregnated with sulphate of magnesia, phosphate of soda, and sulphuretted hydrogen; it has a taste and smell precisely like that of the White Sulphur Spring in the western mountains of Virginia. It affects the system in nearly the same manner, being both aperient and diuretic, and acts favourably on most constitutions. The temperature of the water is uniformly at 56°, and besides the use of it as a beverage, in varied quantities, from six to twenty tumblers in a day, it is used for bathing. A very neat and commodious set of hot and cold baths, of plain water, and of the Sulphur Spring, is erected on the lawn, in a small octagonal gothic building, with a swimming-bath, open to the sky in the centre.

We found the accommodations, the fare, the society, small as it was, and the attendance, all agreeable, and

should consider the Faquier Springs soon likely to become the most thronged and popular place of resort, for a summer excursion, in the Union.

On the last night of our stay here, just as we were retiring to rest, my son perceived a quantity of smoke issuing from the adjoining bed-room, and, on attempting to open the door, it was discovered to be locked, and the key taken away. We forced open the door, and found the bed in flames, and the wood-work of the room already much burnt; but the servants not having yet gone to bed, we obtained water enough to extinguish it, though, had it made a very little more progress before it was discovered, it would have been beyond the power of the inmates to suppress, as there is neither engine nor any other apparatus for extinguishing fires in these isolated establishments. On examining the room after the fire was put out, and inquiring into the circumstances of the case, it was the impression of all present that it was the work of an incendiary, as there was no candle or candlestick in the room, nor had the gentleman who slept in it been inside the apartment for many hours. The conviction was that some of the slaves belonging to the establishment had made the attempt to fire the building, but, as usual in such cases, it was thought best to hush the matter up, as such disclosures bring discredit on the masters, by leading to the supposition of ill-treatment, and lessens the marketable value of the slaves who may be convicted of such dangerous practices.

We left the Faquier Springs on the afternoon of the 15th of September, at three o'clock, having engaged an extra stage to take us to Alexandria, and

\ paying thirty dollars for the journey of fifty miles. In this, as in many other instances throughout the South, we found that we had been deceived and imposed upon by the false representations of the stage-office keepers, as to matters of fact ; indeed, we heard afterwards that they boasted of their skill and tact in having taken us in, by persuading us to believe that which was not true, and imposing on us accordingly. The laxity of morals in all dealings for money, is certainly very great in every part of the world, but it seems greater here than in any other nation in which I have travelled ; and it is remarkable that here, as everywhere else, it seems to be greater among dealers in horses and carriages for public conveyance, than among any other class ; at least it has fallen to our lot to discover more instances of cunning, deceit, and fraud, among the people of this class, than of any other ; though I have never yet heard a satisfactory reason given for dealers in horses and suppliers of carriages being more dishonest than dealers in any other requisites for the public use.

Though we had taken the extra stage for our exclusive use, we gave a seat to a Virginia gentleman, who wished to proceed as far as Warrenton ; and were agreeably entertained by his conversation during the way. In contrasting the backward condition of his native State, with the more advanced prosperity of nearly all the Northern States, he frankly admitted, as most of the candid and well-informed Virginians readily do, that the great barrier to Southern improvement was the institution of slavery ; which, causing all labour to be performed by the blacks, made it disreputable in public opinion for a white

man to labour at all. The consequence is, that all the males, except the very lowest, are brought up to the liberal professions, or to live upon the incomes of their plantations; and few enter into any kind of business by which their fortunes can be much improved. Habits of indolence, recklessness, and extravagance, result from this: so that from the want of any steady occupation or pursuit, the Virginian gentlemen pass their time in travelling from south to north, and east to west, during the migratory season, and in hunting, shooting, fishing, racing, and play of various kinds, in the stationary season. Nearly all of them use tobacco, both in chewing and smoking, most of them are fond of their wine, and many drink cordials, juleps, and brandy. They read but little, and that chiefly in books of mere entertainment. They are hot and irascible, though generous to a fault; but at the same time too regardless of the future, and too careless or indifferent about the claims of others upon them; so that a very large number are in debt, and very indifferent as to whether they are ever able to escape from it or not—living this year on advances made on the income of the next, and spending just as much in years of bad crops and low prices, as in years of good crops and high prices; so that most persons leave, at their death, embarrassments to be cleared off by their successors.

The ladies of Virginia, though free from many of the habits of the gentlemen, were described as partaking of much of their character for aversion to labour, love of amusement and pleasure, and recklessness as to expense. A prudent manager of an estate, or

a thrifty housewife, would hardly be esteemed in Virginia, and there are few who ever aim at such distinction; but, a desire for equipage and servants, love of dress, fondness for balls and parties, love of watering-places and gay assemblages, with rather more than a feminine share of taste for juleps, cordials, and champagne—there being few who do not take one or the other of these more freely than is usual at the North—are prominent traits of character in the upper classes, according to the testimony of a native, who expressed his desire to give as favourable a character of both sexes as he could.

Our road from the Faquier Springs to Warrenton, was an agreeable one, with hilly outlines of background, and gently undulated surface; and after leaving this small but unusually pretty village, which is eight miles from the Springs, we reached, in seven miles more, the village of Buckland, where we found a house of private entertainment, at which everything was clean and inviting; and here we halted.

On the morning of the 16th, we left Bucklands at eight A. M., in a thicker fog than we had yet seen in this country; but it was of short duration, as in less than an hour we had all the warmth and brightness of the Southern autumn, so delicious to the feelings, as well as to the sight. The road was rougher than usual, though the face of the country grew more and more level. We passed, at intervals of about seven miles apart, the two villages of Groveton and Centreville; and seven miles from thence brought us to the larger town of Fairfax, where the County Courts are held. A numerous assemblage of people from the neighbouring country were now in

attendance here. Besides the parties having actual business at these Courts, very many of the country residents come into town on those public days, in the hope of meeting their friends, and thus a sort of Social Exchange is established, where, for two or three days in succession, the principal farmers of the county and their families have a re-union several times a year, which maintains their friendly relations, and keeps up a kind feeling among them all.

We dined at the public table about two o'clock, and proceeding onward to Alexandria, a distance of fourteen miles from hence, we reached it at six. The entrance into this place presents a striking contrast with the towns of America generally; these being almost all in a rising and progressively increasing condition, but this is in a falling and gradually decaying state, from the removal or transfer of all its maritime trade to Baltimore, in consequence of the railroads from the interior communicating with that city. In the suburbs of Alexandria the houses are almost wholly untenanted, and many are in ruins. Within the city itself, which is large, and planned with great regularity, there are many houses without occupants, and in some of the less-frequented streets the grass has grown up so as almost to obscure the pavement; while, in even the most public thoroughfares, there is nothing of the stir and bustle so characteristic of American towns.

We slept at Alexandria, and on the following morning, Sept. 17, paid a visit to Mount Vernon, the estate of General Washington, where he had resided after the stirring scenes of the Revolution, and where he ended his days in retirement and peace.

The distance from Alexandria to Mount Vernon is only seven miles, and the road is very agreeable all the way. Nothing can be more beautiful than the site chosen for the mansion and grounds of this delightful residence, which stands on a bold and rounded promontory overhanging the broad Potomac. The river is here about a mile and a half across, and goes on expanding its width gradually, till it exceeds ten miles, before it empties itself into the great bay of the Chesapeake. The mansion itself is not remarkable for size or elegance, but it is well arranged for domestic comfort; it has a broad portico in front, with open colonnades connecting the wings in the rear, and a fine old turret on the centre.

On entering the hall, there is seen suspended within a glass frame, made for the purpose, the old and rusty key of the French Bastile, which was sent to General Washington, by his friend and fellow-soldier, Lafayette. Beneath it is an engraving representing the demolition of that scene of suffering and oppression, by the infuriated populace of Paris.

In one of the sitting-rooms is a portrait of Lawrence Washington, the brother of the General, dressed in the old English costume of the reign of Queen Anne, with a scarlet coat without collar, small tight cravat, and well coiffed hair. It was the brother to whom the estate originally belonged; and he, being an officer in the British navy, had served under Admiral Vernon, and named the estate, in honour of that distinguished navigator, Mount Vernon. In the same room were busts of Neckar and Lafayette, and a bust of General Washington, by Houdon, the French sculptor, who executed the

full-length figure taken from the life, now in the Capitol at Richmond. Among the engravings around the walls were four battle-pieces, two by sea, and two by land; the former were the Siege and Relief of Gibraltar, and the latter were the Battle of Bunker Hill, and the Death of General Montgomery. In another of the sitting-rooms was a good picture of the present Washington family, a lady and three children, by an American artist; and in the same room, a beautiful marble chimney-piece, with exquisite sculpture of Italian workmanship, representing rural subjects. This was presented to the General soon after the signing of the American Declaration of Independence, by an English gentleman in London, who was a great admirer of his character.

A small, but well-chosen library of English books, in English bindings, all selected, we were told, by General Washington himself, and used by him for many years of his life, occupies another room. This is one of the most interesting relics of the spot, as carrying the visitor back to the studies and habits of the illustrious occupier of this library, in which he passed many hours of each day. In this room is a beautiful miniature of Washington, said to be a speaking likeness, which was taken from an engraving imprinted on a pitcher of earthenware; and on the back of this, in a small, but distinct hand, is written perhaps the most perfect eulogy on the character of Washington that is anywhere on record. It is remarkable, indeed, that its appropriateness did not lead to its being adopted for his monument. But as its excellence is not the less on that account, I copied it, and subjoin it here—

CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON,
DESIGNED FOR A MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTION.

WASHINGTON,

THE DEFENDER OF HIS COUNTRY—THE FOUNDER OF LIBERTY,
THE FRIEND OF MAN.

History and Tradition are explored in vain
For a Parallel to his Character.
In the annals of modern Greatness
He stands alone ;
And the noblest Names of Antiquity
Lose their lustre in his presence.

Born the Benefactor of Mankind,
He united all the qualities necessary to an
Illustrious Career.

Nature made him Great,
He made himself Virtuous.

Called by his Country to the Defence of her Liberties,
He triumphantly vindicated the Rights of Humanity,
And on the Pillars of National Independence
Laid the Foundations of a Great Republic.

Twice invested with Supreme Magistracy
By the Unanimous Voice of a Free People.
He surpassed in the Cabinet
The Glories of the Field,
And voluntarily resigning the Sceptre and the Sword,
Retired to the shades of Private Life.

A spectacle so new and so sublime
Was contemplated with the profoundest admiration,
And the Name of WASHINGTON,
Adding new lustre to Humanity,
Resounded to the Remotest Regions of the Earth.

Magnanimous in Youth,
Glorious through Life—Great in Death :
His highest Ambition, the Happiness of Mankind,
His noblest Victory, the Conquest of Himself.

Bequeathing to Posterity the Inheritance of his Fame,
And Building his Monument in the Hearts of his Countrymen,
He lived the Ornament of the Eighteenth Century,
And died regretted by a Mourning World.

The apartment in which he breathed his last is not shown to visitors, as it is now used as a private bed-room of the family in occupation. In the garden, which is nearly in the same state as when the General took his morning and evening walks through it, we were permitted to take a slip from an orange-tree planted by Washington's own hand; and we learnt from the old negro gardener, who had lived here since he was a child, that the cultivation of fruits and flowers was a recreation in which his former master both delighted and excelled.

After examining the dwelling and garden, we visited the tomb. The body of Washington was originally deposited in the old family vault, near the bank of the river, and that of his wife, who died soon after him, was laid in the same spot. But the number of persons belonging to collateral branches of the family, interred in the same place since their death, so crowded the space allotted for the vault, that a new place of burial was determined on. The spot chosen for this purpose, was one in which General Washington had been known to express a wish to be laid, though why that wish was not complied with earlier, does not appear. In 1831, however, the removal of the bodies took place; and in 1837, the body of General Washington was taken up, for the purpose of being transferred from its first coffin, to a fine marble sarcophagus prepared for that purpose, in which it now lies, above the ground.

The sarcophagus is of the ancient Roman shape, of white marble, with a flat cover, and has in its upper part, sculptured in relief, an eagle, with the national escutcheon of America, the stars and stripes

of her Union, and the word "WASHINGTON," only, beneath it. At the foot of the sarcophagus, on the perpendicular end, is an inscription, recording the gift of it, by T. Struthers, a marble-mason of Philadelphia, in 1837. Close beside this sarcophagus of the General, is another, of similar form and material, containing the ashes of his wife, and on it the only inscription that we could perceive was—

"MARTHA, CONSORT OF WASHINGTON."

Both of these are above ground, in an open space in front of the family vault, and are seen through a lofty iron gate, over which is an arch of plain brick work, and on its front, an inscription, indicating this to be the burial-place of the Washington Family. There is about the whole, however, an air of so much simplicity, that it is difficult for those who have been accustomed to see the splendid mausolea erected to the memory of rulers, statesmen, and heroes, in the old world, to reconcile themselves to such a monument as this, for such a man as Washington. But the fame of this deliverer of his country is happily independent of monumental marble, or the pomp and pageantry of sepulchral grandeur; for in the language of Pericles, in his funeral oration over the Greeks who fell at Marathon, "the whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men; nor is the epitaph engraven on tombstones in their native land, the sole guardian of their fame; but the memories of their actions in *other countries*, forms a more faithful record in the heart, than any that human hands can fabricate."

From all I have witnessed in this country, I fear the name of Washington is oftener in the mouths,

than a veneration for his virtues is in the hearts of his countrymen ; and I feel persuaded, that the people of England would go far beyond those of America, in devoting their labour and money towards the erection of a suitable monument to his memory, on the spot that contains his mortal remains.

The whole estate ought to be purchased by the National Government of America, and the residence and the tomb of this Father of his Country ought to be kept up, at the national cost, in a becoming state of repair and preservation. But as it is, with a total neglect on the part of the Government, and a very inadequate attention on the part of the surviving family, it seems likely, in less than a century, to be as completely dilapidated, as the first settlement of the British, at James-Town ; though the name of Washington will be honoured in all countries, and to the latest period of time, as long as the history of America shall endure.

On our return to Alexandria, we visited the Museum of that city, where many curious objects of Nature and Art are collected together, and especially relics of Washington, contributed by his family and personal friends. Among these, is the silk robe in which he was baptised when an infant ; and a pen-knife, which he received from his mother when a boy, and preserved carefully to the end of his life. The anecdote connected with this gift is remarkable. When Admiral Vernon's ship was in the Chesapeake, and Washington was yet a boy, he is said to have gone on board to visit his brother Lawrence, then an officer under the British flag ; and to have been so pleased with the ship and a sea-life, from the little

he had seen of it there, that he assented to Admiral Vernon's proposition to join the ship as a midshipman or volunteer. On communicating this fact to his mother, she expressed great sorrow at his taking such a step without consulting her, but hoped he would recal his engagement. This he consented to do immediately, as he had never disobeyed his parents in any thing; and as a token of her approbation, the penknife was given to him, which he valued so highly, that he then declared his resolution never to part with it, and kept his word.

A masonic apron, and a pair of gloves, the former worked in embroidery by the hands of Madame Lafayette, and presented to Washington by her husband, are also in this Museum; and lastly, the bier on which the coffin of the General rested, at the door of his mansion, before it was taken to the place of his interment. It was said that this bier had been in the family for a century; and that during the General's life, the corpse of every one of his slaves and servants dying on his estate, was laid on it in a coffin at the door, in the same manner as his own, before they were conveyed to the burial ground.

The *first* flag captured by Washington in the Revolutionary war, of beautiful white satin, embroidered with gold, and worked by one of the German princesses for the Hessian regiment from which it was taken, is displayed in this Museum, and is called "Alpha;" while, close by it, is the *last* flag captured by Washington in the same war, an English red silk ensign, with the regimental badge and decorations, and this is called "Omega." All these were lent to the Museum by members of the Washington

family ; their identity is certified by such authorities as are well known on the spot, and leave no doubt of their being genuine.

Among the other curiosities of this collection may be mentioned—the largest piece of brain coral yet known, being upwards of three feet in diameter, brought from the rocks of Bermuda—the skeleton of a horse with three heads, one of a horse, one of a sheep, and one of a dog, the latter less perfect than the two former. There are also several large live eagles, and a beautiful scarlet-winged flamingo in the aviary. The key of the Castle of Tripoli, delivered up to Captain Decatur of the American Navy, and a beautiful Roman sword, of undoubted antiquity, found there also, enriches the collection. There is also a model of the French Bastile, and of the guillotines used in the French Revolution ; a most curious Greek cross, about seven feet high, and one foot broad, made of more than ten thousand separate pieces of wood ! united without nails, having the appearance of a hollow net-work, and being extremely light and elastic, so that it can be bent and made to wave to and fro without breaking. It had been taken from Greece to Smyrna in the Greek revolution, and purchased there by an American gentleman, who presented it to the Museum. A superb Mameluke saddle, of crimson-velvet, thickly worked over with gold ; several fine Malay creases, some wavy and some poisoned ; a collection of Indian weapons generally, including bows, arrows, and scalping-knives, and many curiosities of art, made up a catalogue of interesting objects, in the examination of which, a visitor might spend several days.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Journey from Alexandria to Washington City—Beauty of the Potomac river—Sight of the Capitol—Deserted condition of Washington—Solitude of the streets—Journey to Baltimore—Susquehannah river—Railroad to Wilmington—Voyage on the Delaware—Storm and whirlwind carrying off houses—Arrival at Philadelphia—Funeral of the late Matthew Carey—Excellence of his character—Passage up the Delaware—Bristol and Burlington—Bordentown and Perth Amboy—Steam voyage through the Straits of Staten Island—Opening of the noble Bay and arrival at New York—Gaiety of the City—General embarrassment in Trade.

WE left Alexandria at two in the afternoon for Washington, by an extra stage engaged for the purpose. The road lying along the south bank of the Potomac, the prospect all the way was extremely beautiful. The river was covered with small craft, with white sails, and the water being nearly calm, their forms were reflected as in the brightest mirror. When we crossed the river by the long bridge, a mile in length, the view up and down the stream was extremely fine;—Fort Washington, the Navy Yard, and the Capitol, being on the right, and Georgetown, and the President's Mansion on the left. But the city itself, when we entered it, seemed like a deserted town, as in reality it is during all the summer and autumn, when the Congress is not in session.

At Washington we took the railroad cars for Baltimore, and went thirty-five miles in about an

hour and a half, with great comfort, and at a cheap rate, the fare being only two dollars each. We found excellent accommodations at Barnum's City Hotel, and passed the evening in visiting a few of the families, whose kindness we had experienced on our former stay, and by whom we were most cordially received.

On the following morning, the 18th of September, we left Baltimore, by the railroad, for Philadelphia, in a tremendous storm of rain and hail, which began to fall just as we set out at nine o'clock. As the road continued for some way along the western bank of the Chesapeake, with frequent openings into the bay, and fine sheets of water running up into the land, the ride was full of interest. Two spots that we passed, called Gunpowder Creek, and Bush River, were studded with beautiful villas and cottages, for the summer residences of Baltimore families. Strange juxtaposition of names is as common here, however, as elsewhere in America, for in the short space of a couple of hours, we passed by Gotham, Joppa, and Havre-de-Grace. It was at this last place that we crossed the Susquehannah, a beautiful river, which flows for 570 miles through Pennsylvania before it reaches this spot, and has more lovely valleys in its course than almost any other stream in America. There are already more than 500 miles of navigable canal along its banks, for inland traffic; and the railroads and canals executed by the State of Pennsylvania, to communicate with this stream and its tributaries, already extend over 1,576 miles! The trade in iron, coal, timber, wheat, flour, potash, and various other kinds of produce, on these great high-

ways, is always considerable, and is increasing every month in the year.

After crossing the Susquehannah in an immense steam-boat, which took all the baggage-cars on the roof, and might be considered a floating-bridge, we resumed the railroad conveyance to Wilmington, in Delaware, and from thence embarked on the beautiful river of that name for Philadelphia. Our passage up this stream was threatened with some interruption, by the gathering of one of the darkest storms I ever remember to have seen. The sky in the south was as black as pitch, varied only by the deep smoky tinge of the rolling masses of gathering cloud, accumulating in successive ridges or billows one over the other. There were, perhaps, fifty sail of vessels, of different rig and sizes, beating down the bay, and some few coming up before the wind, under full sail at this time; and their white sails, contrasted with the inky back-ground of the picture, looked like pearl or alabaster. At length, the more prudent began to shorten sail, and come to an anchor; but the bolder continuing to carry-on, were punished for their temerity, for when the storm burst, it rent their canvass into ribbons, and carried away the masts of several by the board. As the storm swept onward towards our steam-vessel, it assumed the appearance of a whirlwind, or water-spout, drawing up the water in spiral circles, and covering all the surface of its track with a thick mist or spray. Fortunately it passed about a mile to the eastward of us, for if it had taken our boat, it would have unroofed the light upper deck and awnings; and if any terror had occasioned the passengers, of which there were

about 300, to crowd to one side of the deck, rather than the other, we might have been upset. Such, indeed, was the strength of the current of wind, which passed about a mile from us, that it took two small houses in its course, whirled them into the air, and threw around the bricks, beams, windows, doors, and moveables, as if they were so many straws, or as if there had been an explosion of gunpowder, and where the two houses stood, nothing remained but their foundations! As these were on one of the small low islands in the Delaware, they were probably not inhabited at the time; if they had been, the inmates could hardly have escaped without injury. For ourselves, we had only a heavy fall of rain, and hail as large as cherries, with sufficient wind to alarm the great mass of the passengers, but not to do any injury. The sound of the thunder was louder than the report of a thousand cannon, and seemed sometimes like the crashing fall of a hundred hills above our heads; while the forked lightning was so vivid, as to produce a momentary sense of blindness after the flash had passed.

When we reached Philadelphia we had more than an hour's drive around to the principal hotels of the city before we could find a bed, every public place of lodging or accommodation being filled with the great number of Southerners waiting here on their way home, to hear of the abatement of the sickness before they proceeded farther, and of merchants and traders from the West, to lay in their winter stocks of goods for sale; so that every house was crowded.

I remained at Philadelphia on the following day,

September 19, to perform the painful duty of attending to the grave the remains of the late venerable and excellent Matthew Carey, one of the most prominent philanthropists of his age. I had enjoyed the pleasure of Mr. Carey's friendship and society on my two former visits to Philadelphia, and heard of his death with deep regret, though he had filled up the measure of his useful and honourable life to the age of eighty, and done more deeds of kindness and charity in that period than most men of the same means. He was a native of Ireland, and came to this country at an early age, but without any other means of acquiring wealth than his own industry. From a journeyman printer, like Franklin, he became the publisher of a newspaper, then its editor and proprietor, and lastly a publishing bookseller, in which capacity, he realized a handsome fortune, and retired from active life, leaving his business to his sons. He was, however, never idle; but, with his pen, and purse, as well as with his personal efforts, he advocated and assisted every benevolent measure presented to him, and originated and supported a great number himself. His latter days indeed was one uninterrupted course of benevolence and charity, and he may fairly be numbered among the Howards of the Western world.

Mr. Carey being a Roman Catholic, his funeral was conducted according to the ritual of that church; and his interment took place in the burial ground of St. Mary's. I attended, with my son, among the personal friends assembled at his residence, and we walked together in the melancholy procession which followed the hearse from his house to the grave, the number of persons joining in this, being upwards of

a thousand, and the empty carriages of his friends and acquaintance filling the streets for nearly the whole of the way. The church was crowded, when we reached it with an auditory of more than 2,000 persons ; and about 500 found admission with the corpse into the aisles below. The service was very simple, consisting merely of a funeral anthem by the choir, a most feeling and appropriate address by the Catholic priest, to the congregation, over the bier, and a second funeral anthem at its close. The solemn dirge for the dead, played by the full-toned organ, and the mingling of rich and sweet voices in the lamentations and rejoicings which were alternately expressed in the anthem sung, were full of the most touching pathos ; and few, I think, could have been present, whether Catholic or Protestant, without having had their hearts penetrated with the solemnity of the scene ; and being induced to utter the emphatic prayer, " Lord ! let me die the death of the righteous ; and let my last end be like his."

We left Philadelphia on the morning of the 20th, at seven o'clock, by a steamer for New York, and were as much pleased as ever with the beautiful banks of the Delaware, which present a succession of fertile fields, graceful woods, and pleasant mansions and gardens, all the way up to the pretty little towns of Burlington and Bristol, and thence to Bordentown. Here we landed, to take the railroad cars ; and from thence, going across New Jersey, we reached the port of Perth Amboy, and there again embarked in the steam-boat for New York.

The passage through the narrow strait of Staten Island was romantically beautiful ; and the fine villas

and cottages, seen all the way from the entrance of the strait, up to its opening into the bay, by New Brighton—the fine hotels and boarding-houses there, and the general fertility and verdure of the land on both sides—formed a constant succession of exquisite pictures. As we opened the bay of New York, the prospect expanded and became grander—the numerous ships at the Quarantine anchorage—the sight of the Atlantic sea through the Narrows—and the distant spires of the city of New York rising in the northern horizon—with the numerous vessels, of all sizes and forms under sail, coming and going—and the great ocean-steamer, the *British Queen*, ploughing her way up the harbour, freighted with 200 passengers, and bringing intelligence for which thousands were waiting with anxiety in every part of America—all gave great and varied interest to the view.

As we drew nearer to the town, we passed a French brig of war at anchor, from Vera Cruz, and, landing at the wharf in the Hudson river, we proceeded in search of quarters. Here, however, the hotels and boarding-houses were even more crowded than at Philadelphia, from the same causes; and we were three hours employed in making applications to every place known to us in the city, before we could obtain even a single room; and only secured this at last by the conversion of a private parlour, at the *Athenæum*, into a sitting-room, so thronged was New York in every quarter of the city.

During our stay at New York, we renewed our intercourse with most of our former friends here; and were received with all the cordiality we could desire. We found the city gayer, as we thought,

than ever; and expensiveness in furniture, dress, and equipages, seemed to be carried much farther than when we were here before. From all that we could learn, however, the prosperity of the city was not so great as usual. There had been more failures, and more winding-up of insolvent accounts, than in the preceding year; and many were thought to be even now tottering on the brink of a precipice. But amidst all this, the theatres were never more crowded, the hotels more thronged, or the expenditure in every way more lavish, than at present. Some attributed this to the natural recklessness of desperation; and others accounted for it by the growing laxity of principle, which, every year, according to their view, is getting worse and worse; so that all distinctions in society, between a man who lives prudently and pays all his debts, and one who lives extravagantly and defrauds his creditors, seems fast disappearing. We heard of men living at the rate of 20,000 dollars a year, who were a year or two ago known to be without any capital at all; and of ladies laying out, in a single morning's shopping, 400 dollars in worked cambric pocket-handkerchiefs; while the fulness of all the dress and jewelry stores bespoke the large demand made for these materials. According to the testimony of the storekeepers themselves, however, the largest portion of their business was done on credit; and in one house we learnt, that though the city was never before so full of people, nor the people ever more in a spending humour than at present, they had not received more than five per cent in cash, of their whole sales for the last three months; the other ninety-five per cent being

entered on the books to the credit of the purchasing parties. The prices of everything, therefore, kept up to the highest standard, to make up for the loss by bad debts which was sure to accrue. Merchants were said to be so embarrassed for want of immediate funds to meet their engagements, that they were raising money by large sacrifices of property, and by paying interest at the rate of two per cent per month, and in some instances at the rate of twenty-five per cent per annum. Nearly all parties, therefore, were losing ground, except the few great capitalists who could advance money at these extravagant rates; and thus increase their wealth from the high interest paid amidst the general distress.

Such was the state of things, as represented to us in almost every circle in which we visited; and yet, amidst it all, the external aspect of the streets, shops, and houses, would lead a stranger to imagine, that every one was basking in the full sunshine of prosperity. The public promenade of Broadway exhibited a greater number of expensively dressed ladies than could be seen in the same space in either London or Paris; and it must be added, much more of feminine beauty. Indeed it may be doubted whether any city in the world contains so many handsome women, in proportion to its population, as New York.

POSTSCRIPT.

AT the close of the First Series of my Work on the *Northern* Free States of America, (vol. iii. p. 582) a Second Series was promised on the *Southern* Slave States, which are less known to the British public. I have accordingly redeemed my pledge, by presenting these Volumes—as the Second Series adverted to—confining them exclusively, as originally intended and announced, to my Travels in the SOUTHERN or Slave States of America.

It remains to be seen, whether this New Series, which goes over so large a portion of untravelled ground, will enjoy the same flattering reception as the First; and upon that issue will depend whether the remainder of my unpublished Journals, of Travels in the EASTERN States, and in the rich and fertile territories of the WEST, shall follow at some future and convenient period.

There may have been some few, perhaps, who would have preferred a Brief Sketch or Outline of the whole Tour of nearly four years, in a single Series, as they desire only to be *amused*, and therefore they like to “get rapidly over the ground,” without waiting to gather much by the way. For such readers there are no lack of Travels, from Captain Head’s “Rough Ride over the Pampas,” to Colonel Maxwell’s “Run through the United States,” and “Captain Barclay’s Tour of Four Months through

America and the Canadas." Those who gallop over a country, or traverse it by railroad and steamboat, may bring their contributions to the stock of public information within a very narrow compass; and, where the object is chiefly to entertain, the labour is light and easy.

My own impression, however, has always been, that, without disparaging the taste or talents of those who supply the public demand with a commodity suited to the literary market of the day, there is abundant room for a more comprehensive Work on America, at least than any that has yet appeared; and it has been an object of ambition with me to present such a Work to the world. To the collection of the facts necessary for such a publication, I believe I may say with truth, that I have devoted more time, and expended more labour, than any who have preceded me in the same path; and it is because the facts collected are more numerous, and the scenes and objects visited more varied than usual, that therefore its limits are unavoidably more extensive.

If the great Republican Union were a country like Spain, or Portugal, or Italy, or Greece, or Palestine, or Egypt, or Belgium, or Holland, or Denmark, or Sweden, it would be easy to examine it in a Summer Trip, and present a full and faithful description of it in a few volumes. But it should be considered, that the Twenty-six States, and Three Territories, now composing the Federal Union, cover as large an extent of area, and embrace as wide a zone of climate and productions, as all the countries I have named, put together. In the various cities, districts, and provinces of the whole, there are continu-

ally springing up, from year to year, new developments, new combinations, and new undertakings, of the greatest interest to other countries, because of their probable effects on the commerce of the world. To all which it may be added, that there is more of political, commercial, manufacturing, mining, and agricultural competition, and far more of invention, enterprise, and intellectual activity, in continual exercise among the eighteen millions of people spread over this vast surface—than in all the countries I have enumerated, united into one.

For these reasons, more time is required for a careful examination of such an extensive area; and more space is requisite for a full and faithful description of it, than readers are generally aware. And as the rank now enjoyed by the United States—as one of the great Powers, whose influence, being cast into the balance, may determine the fate of nations—is such as to make everything connected with its institutions, resources, and prospects, of great interest and importance to the civilized world, I am not without a hope, that my humble endeavours to present as full and faithful an account of all that I examined and observed, during the three years and a half that I passed in traversing every portion of that extensive and beautiful region, may be crowned with present success, and honoured with future respect and commendation.

APPENDIX—VOL. II.

NARRATIVE OF FACTS—EXPLANATORY OF THE ARTICLE ON “AMERICA,” IN THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

IN the year 1818, being then in the East Indies, after the completion of my Travels through Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Hindoostan, I was honoured with the request of the late Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. Middleton, and the late Governor-General of India, the Marquis of Hastings—both of whom had read my manuscript journals—to give them early publication, as they each deemed them of great interest to the literary world. The first portion of the MS. was, accordingly, forwarded to Mr. John Murray, of Albemarle-street, by the hands of Capt. George Sydenham, of the Bengal Army, now in London, and Mr. Murray engaged to give £500 for the copyright, and bring out the work immediately.

It having become known, however, to Mr. William John Bankes (then of Corfe Castle) that Mr. Murray had purchased the copyright of this work,—and he (Mr. Bankes) being anxious, if possible to suppress it, in order that it might not anticipate a Work on the same countries which he proposed publishing himself,—he made such false representations to Mr. Murray, as to induce him to abandon the publication, rescind his agreement to pay £500 for the copyright, and throw the work back on the hands of my friend from whom he had received it.

Notwithstanding the prejudice likely to be created in the public mind from this breach of contract, by one of Mr. Murray's standing in the trade, the work was subsequently accepted by Messrs. Longman & Co., and published by them under the title

of "Travels in Palestine." It had a most flattering reception from the public, and enjoyed an extensive sale, passing speedily into a second edition. Its success was likely to be "wormwood and gall" to Mr. Murray and to Mr. Banks; as, by it, their schemes of suppression and anticipation were defeated. In the ebullition of their disappointment and defeat, Mr. William John Banks wrote (anonymously however), and Mr. John Murray published, in *THE QUARTERLY REVIEW*, a pretended criticism on these "Travels in Palestine;" in the course of which they indulged in so much falsehood and defamation, that I felt it a duty, for the sake of my reputation, as I was then comparatively unknown to the world, to institute legal proceedings against them in the Court of King's Bench, for their respective shares in this libellous publication.

In the course of these proceedings, every means were taken on their part to protract the cause, and throw obstacles in the way of its speedy termination, by moving for commissions to Syria and to India for evidence, in consequence of which the proceedings were extended over three years of time! and all that wealth, delay, and great professional talent could achieve for them, was accomplished. But at length the day of trial came, when Mr. Murray instructed his counsel—the present Lord Lyndhurst, Justice Parke, and Baron Gurney—to make an ample apology in open Court, express his deep regret at his *QUARTERLY REVIEW* having been made the medium of false imputations on an honourable man, and to consent to a verdict with costs. Mr. Banks, however, proceeding to a trial, was convicted, by a jury of his countrymen, of being guilty of a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, and adjudged to pay £400 damages; while their united costs, from the long delays, distant commissions, and other causes, amounted, it was understood, to nearly £6,000; and, though I was the unjustly injured party, I remember well that I was, myself, saddled with expenses, not included in the taxed costs, on the

whole of the three years that these actions were kept pending, of about £1,500, though perfectly innocent of even a single charge of my libellers!

It is asserted, that on this occasion, Mr. Bankes refused to pay his due share of the costs in which Mr. Murray was involved as the publisher of the libellous article, though he had nothing to do with the writing it;—and in revenge for this ill-treatment, Mr. Murray made known to my counsel—the present Lord Abinger, Lord Denman, Lord Brougham, and Mr. Hill—what had been a profound secret till then: namely, that it was Mr. Bankes who, having first tried to get my Book suppressed by false representations, and failing therein, had next given vent to his rage and disappointment by writing the slanderous article in *THE QUARTERLY REVIEW*, and refused to bear his share of the burden of the penalty!

It is hardly to be wondered at, perhaps, that Mr. Murray should feel no disposition to commend any Work of mine, after this; but prudence might have taught him the danger of doing anything that might revive this almost forgotten story of by-gone days. Loss of memory, however, seems to be common to both these personages; as Mr. Bankes had forgotten statements in his own letters, which were produced in evidence against him at the trial, and the falsehood of his own assertions were thus proved by his own hand; while Mr. Murray and his present Editor, seem to have lost *their* recollections so entirely, that on concluding an article on my first Work on America, in which they profess to review the Index of the Book only, they say—"they do not remember ever to have adverted to my name on any former occasion in their Journal!"

I take this occasion, therefore, to correct these members of the *Non-mi-Ricordo Family*, in their error; and, though at the expense of disturbing their complacency, to let the American and the English people equally know, that the two objects which the

article in *THE QUARTERLY REVIEW* were intended to effect were : First, to extract from the Index of my Book—not written by myself, but prepared, in the usual way, by one of those readers or compilers, which Mr. Murray himself, as well as all other publishers, employs for such purposes—every portion that could pamper to the lowest prejudices, by keeping up the feeling of national animosity between England and America, which it was the leading object of the Book itself, to soften or allay—Secondly, to gratify these revengeful and vindictive feelings, common to those who injure men unjustly, and who try, by every effort they can, to heap still greater injuries on those whom they have once abused.

I have lived long enough, however, to discover, that one may live down the most violent assaults on reputation, by pursuing a calm, upright, and persevering career of honest and useful labour; and that the world seldom fails to see, that a man's *conduct* through life, is a better test of his character, than any that the party-pages of political and personal adversaries, such as those of *THE QUARTERLY REVIEW*, can furnish.

Camden Town, March, 1842.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

THE END.

INDEX TO THE SLAVE STATES OF AMERICA.

[As this Index was not supplied to Subscribers with the Second Series of this Work when issued, it is furnished now, for incorporation with the Volumes, by all those who possess that Series, so as to make the Work complete.]

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